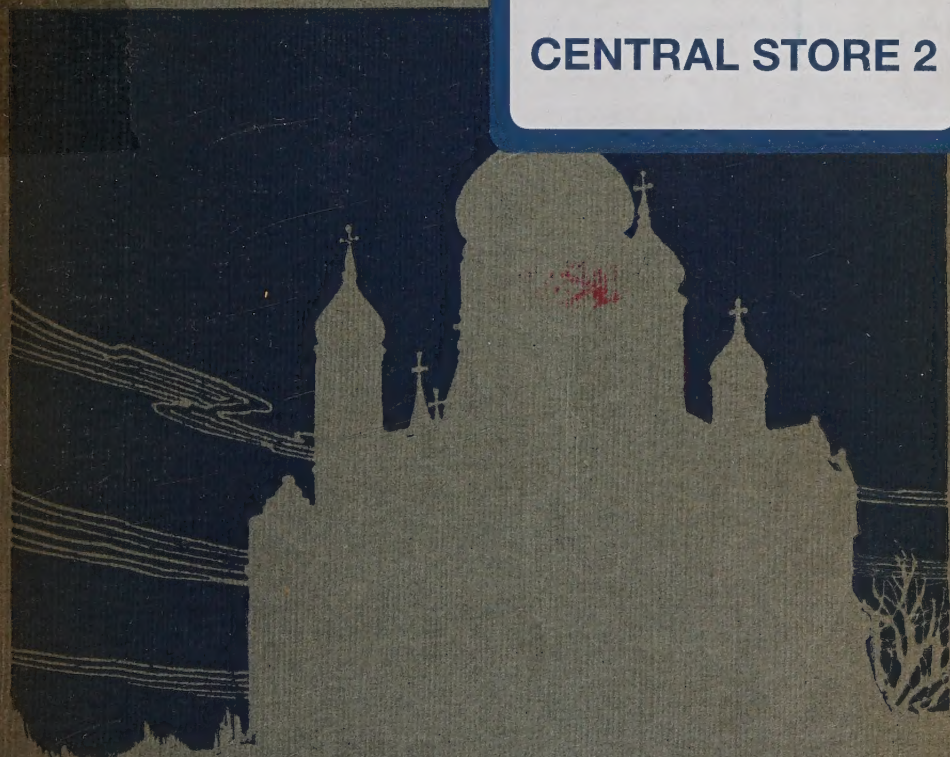


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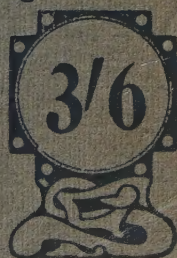
W. H. FRERE

LORD BISHOP OF TRURO.

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A history of the Russian Church, without knowledge of which no one can even form an estimate of the Russia of to-day. Both in religion and in politics the course of the history of the Russian people has been on lines different from that of the Western nations. Those who welcome the growing rapprochement between Western and Eastern Christianity should study the Russian point of view as exemplified in its history.



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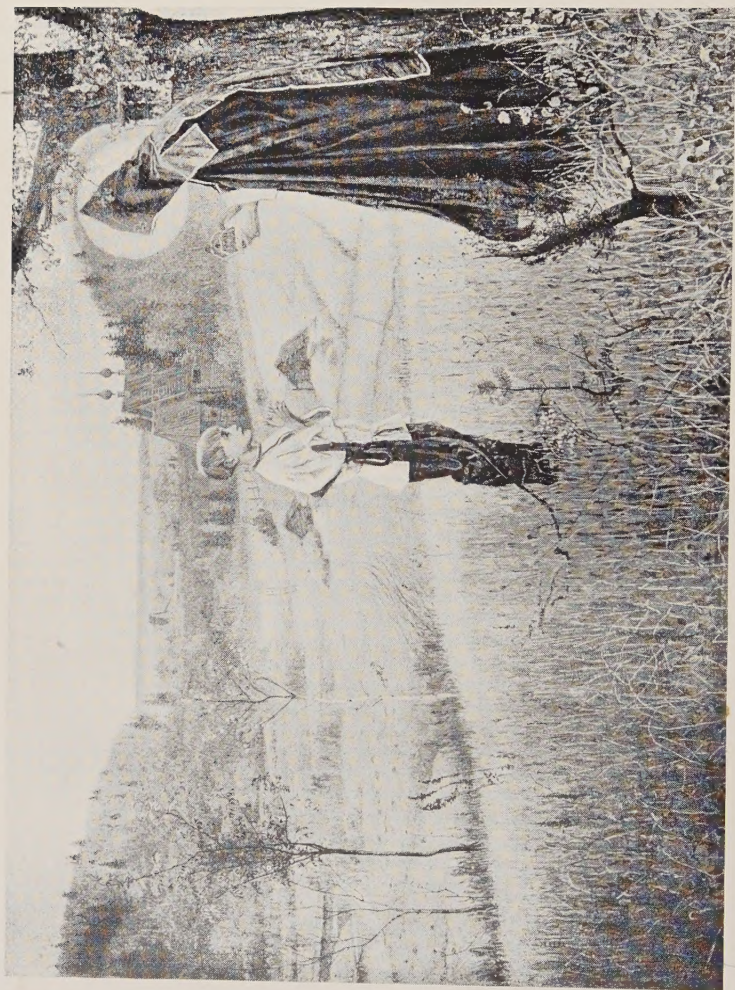


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RUSSIAN CHURCH HISTORY



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SOME LINKS IN THE CHAIN
OF
RUSSIAN CHURCH
HISTORY

By
W. H. FRERE

Priest of The Community of the Resurrection



100,189

LONDON :
FAITH PRESS, 22 BUCKINGHAM STREET, CHARING CROSS
1918

TO MY FRIENDS AND BENEFACTORS
OF THE MANSUROV FAMILY
at Riga and Moscow
in 1914

C

PREFACE

It is long since a book has been published in English giving the history of the Russian Church. Three quarters of a century have passed since Blackmore translated the sketch of A. N. Muraviev; and among the books published in the interval which have touched upon the subject of the Russian Church, none has ever taken the place of that History. This fact is the more regrettable since the intervening period witnessed a great development in the study of the subject in Russia. It was in 1857 that Makari put forth the first-fruits of his deepened studies; successive years witnessed the gradual development of his plan; but it was left incomplete, for the 12th volume, issued in 1883, did not even complete the story of Nikon, thus ending in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The mantle of Makari fell upon Golubinski. His thorough but rather diffuse volumes comprised a fresh and fuller attempt at a scientific history; but they covered even less ground than those of Makari. Other valuable works, though of less calibre and scope, especially those of Philaret, archbishop of Chernigov, and the laymen Dobroklonski and Znamenski, have utilized the labours of their predecessors and succeeded in giving a completer summary of the historical development of the Russian Church, written with skill and resting upon research.

On this series of historians I have mainly relied in depicting certain *Links in the Chain of Russian History*, choosing out such objects as seemed to me most likely to interest the English reader, and preserving some semblance of continuity in the account while passing over many phases and subjects of importance. The notes deal summarily with some questions which are omitted in the text; and further they are designed to help further study by references given to the sources and to leading Russian authorities on some of the many topics subordinate to the main history.

It has been impossible to consult some of these, because they were not to be found in English Libraries, and in existing circumstances were not procurable from Russia. Thus I have been unable to see some of such important sources as the State Papers, or to consult such a book for example as Lopukhin's *History of the Christian Church in the Nineteenth Century*.

For these and other reasons the book is far from being what I should wish it to be. But, such as it is, I hope it may be of some service in days when there is manifested an increasing desire for knowledge about Russia, and may lead to an enhanced appreciation both of Russia and its Church.

A great deal of change has been taking place while these proofs are going through the press. Full information is not yet available; but it is clear that the old state of ecclesiastical affairs, herein described, has already been reformed, and a new era has been opened by the Revolution, from which the Church has been the first to profit. The hidebound constitution inherited from the days of Peter has been swept away in favour of something which promises far better for the liberty and efficiency of the Church.

The hopes of the future are voiced in a letter written by a Russian Priest from Petrograd, June 3, 1917, to the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, Hon. Sec. of the *Anglican and Eastern Churches Association*.

"Amid this darkness there is a light still shining upon us who believe. It is the restoration of her rights to the Holy Church, which for ages have been downtrodden. It is a new free life for her. And it is believed that it is simply for her sake that the Lord has shaken the whole of our state organization and is keeping at present the forces of the nation paralysed. The Orthodox Church is emerging before our eyes with a power which is new to us. She is returning after prolonged sufferings to the purity of her first days, *i.e.*, before Constantine the Great. It may be the Lord

will grant to us to see the fulfilment of the dreams of our youth concerning the freedom of the Church."

After describing the election to the vacant see of Petrograd by a Diocesan Council of 1,920 clergy and laity, and also the work of an Ecclesiastical Assembly of clergy and laity sitting at Moscow in order to prepare for the National Council, consisting of bishops, clergy and lay delegates to the number of over a thousand, (which has since taken place), the writer adds :

" Perhaps these councils will be useful not only to the Church but also to our whole Country by uniting together all the harmonious and healthy forces of the Nation."

This cry of hope will be widely echoed among us here. History shows how in Russia's earlier days the Church has been the rallying point and the saving of the State. May it be so again !

W. H. FRERE.

Mirfield,

October, 1917.

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Some Links in the Chain

OF

Russian Church History

CHAPTER I

THE SLAVS AND THEIR CONVERSION

THERE is no imperial gift that a race can possess more valuable to it than a power of assimilation.

Empires have been made by other qualities—by masterfulness, by vigorous and youthful pugnacity and the like; but these have not lasted long, because they depended upon a transient power of domination. The lasting empires have been built up by races, which, whatever their own innate qualifications might be, had the gift of absorbing other capacities and gifts from the peoples with whom they came into contact; and so of incorporating the best of those peoples themselves.

It is such a gift of assimilation which has made the Slavs, as a race, capable of a great empire. They apparently began as a small group, living in the triangular marshland of Polesie, in what later became part of Poland and Western Russia¹: an unwarlike people, yielding and gentle, but endowed with a considerable self-confidence, rich artistic qualities and a clear sense of a certain superiority over their neighbours, the Teutons, and over the crowds of nomad peoples who surged westward across the fertile but defenceless plains on their southern border. Already the Slav began to influence his neighbours in his own quiet way. A notable example of this is to be seen in the transformation of the Bulgarians effected as they passed up to the Danube and on into the Byzantine empire in the seventh and

¹ See *Cambridge Mediæv. History*, ii, 418 and ff.

eighth centuries. Though they were apparently of Turkish descent and language, they adopted the Slav tongue and civilization, and were in a sense adopted into the Slav family.¹ In spite of this, at first the Slav was everywhere the oppressed person; and his own proud name for himself² was degraded to become the oppressor's name of "slave." But this gentleness and lack of military capacity gave the opportunity for the Slavs themselves to expand, and, as they expanded into healthier regions, to become also more forceful. They went southwards and came into Greece; and again westwards, making for the time being a Moravian kingdom. They were ruled and led by others, Mongols or Teutons, but they revenged themselves for their subjection by absorbing their conquerors. Then, becoming more vigorous, they expanded north-westward to the Vistula, occupying Teuton territory; northward towards the Baltic, driving the Finnish tribes before them; south-west over the Carpathians, filling part of what we now call Hungary. Their least successful expansion at first was that towards the east and north-east—that is in the direction in which subsequently it has been most successful and extensive.

Meanwhile a similar expansion was taking place in Scandinavian lands. The two expanding forces were bound ere long to clash; and before the middle of the ninth century the Slav, like many other races, made a tragic acquaintance with the long boats and savage crews of the Northmen, as they swarmed up the rivers plundering, or came in quieter days trading. But he showed here again a signal instance of his power of assimilation. As he had done much already to assimilate some of the nomads of the south and the Teutonic tribes on the western border, so now he set to work to absorb the Scandinavian invaders. They might come to occupy all the chief trading centres along the water-line from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and might impose their name of Ros on the

¹ Other instances are the Slavised Antae (*ib.* 431) and Avars (*ib.* 432).

² The Slav is the person who can speak, as opposed to the *niemets* (=German) who is dumb.

country, so that it became "Russia": but in return they had to submit to the quiet influence of the land and the people, and they themselves became absorbed into the Slavs. So it was that Scandinavian rulers like Rurik (†879) became the Great Princes of the coming Russia, and a Scandinavian trading centre like Novgorod became the Russian republic of the north.¹

A great part of this expansion brought them face to face with Christian influences.² In the middle of the ninth century the more accessible parts of Slavdom came within the sphere of Byzantine, Roman and Frankish Missions. The southern Slavs in Greek territory were subdued by Basil the Macedonian (867-886), and christianized from Byzantium. They remained in that sphere of influence. Meanwhile the Bulgarians had already had the same experience at the hands of Basil's predecessor Michael III (842-867); but, resenting the situation, they coquetted with Rome, and their enquiries as to Roman doctrine and discipline elicited from Pope Nicholas I in 864 his celebrated series of definitions called the *Responsa ad Bulgaros*.³ This

¹ The Scandinavian invaders called Varangians had long dominated the Baltic, and at times made settlements at various points on the rivers entering the Baltic from the south. In the expansion of the ninth century they pushed further into Slav territory. The chronicler represents their entry into it as the result of an invitation. "Our land is great, has everything in abundance, but there is no order or justice. Come, possess our land and govern us." But in fact the system of waterways laid the whole land open to invasion by such an immigrant. The route from the Black Sea to the Baltic via the Dnieper and the Dvina is one of the old trade routes of the world, and the Vikings at this juncture could journey on it and on its branch lines much as they pleased. The democratic and peaceful polity of the Slav could not resist the powerful autocracy of the Viking; but it could accept and absorb it. For a long time the Varangians remained a trading and a growing class, superposed upon the Slav order, maintaining its own laws and rules of government; but in time Slavs were admitted to the ranks of the Boiars, the racial distinctness faded, assimilation took place, and the country absorbed the new-comers. For the history and institutions of these early days see Kliuchevski, *Hist. of Russia*, ch. v. and vi.

² The Christian expansion reached the northern shores of the Black Sea in primitive times: Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, ii, 152, 239. But it does not seem to have reached any Slav race then; and there is no direct connexion between the Christian communities of the first four Christian centuries situated in Scythia and the later Christianity of Russia.

For the legend of St. Andrew's preaching to the Slavs see Golubinski's *excursus* on the subject, vol. I, i, 19-34.

³ For the details of the conversion of Bulgaria see Maclear, *Missions in the Middle Ages*, 279-283.

The *Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum* are in Migne, *P.L.* cxix, 978-1016.

dubious position in which they involved themselves came in to accentuate the differences between Rome and Constantinople, which were daily becoming more serious, as the controversy deepened with regard to the admission or rejection of Photius as Patriarch. The destiny of Bulgaria, however, did not depend upon the claim of Photius, though he had been the baptizer of the Bulgarian Prince Boris ; for it was at a Council held in 869 during Photius' disgrace that the decision was reached, that Bulgaria should receive Byzantine clergy as its missionaries, with the result that it would belong to the patriarchate of Constantinople, *i.e.* to the Eastern Church and not the Western.

In Moravia christianization came from all three quarters, Greek, Roman, and Frankish. Here the brothers Methodius and Cyril, the Apostles of the Slavs, carried on their famous work ; and they were Greeks from Constantinople. This fact, however, did not determine the ultimate place of Moravia in the Christian world. The apostles themselves entered into close conjunction with Rome. Cyril died there in 869 and Methodius returned to be archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia. He was authorized by Rome to utilize the Slav language, which the brothers had for the first time reduced to writing and made available for religious purposes to serve as the ecclesiastical language of the new converts. The Latin and Frankish influence won the day. After the death of Methodius the Frankish element got the upper hand, so that in 885 the Slav party turned southward and concentrated its energies upon Bulgaria, leaving Moravia to become part of the Western Church.¹

A new line of demarcation between Eastern and Western Christendom was thus being drawn : and the Slavs were ranging themselves partly on the one side and partly on the other side of it. Bohemia, Hungary and Poland alike had their first Christian influence from Eastern sources ; but this was transitory. The real

¹ For further details see Maclear, 283-286.

christianization of these countries came from Western missionary zeal, and they therefore were ultimately found on the western side of the frontier, and became parts of the Western Church.

With Russia the opposite was the case. Christianity entered quietly, probably through unnoticed infiltration, and perhaps also through some Slav missionaries, from the South. The Scandinavian rulers, beginning with Rurik (†879) had been seventy years in possession at Kiev, Polotsk, Novgorod and other centres, before they came under Christian influence, and before any large movement towards Christianity began among them.¹ Various causes, peaceful and warlike, had brought them into touch with Constantinople as early as the first half of the ninth century.² The Russian chroniclers³ two

¹ An early legend tells the story of two Varangian princes, Askold and Dir, who, coming farther south than Rurik and the rest of the Scandinavian invaders, settled at Kiev, in 866. Thence they came to Constantinople under arms, but were defeated. In response to the prayers of the Byzantine people and the protection of the Holy Robe of the Blessed Virgin preserved at Blachernae, a storm arose which scattered the ships of the invaders, and baffled their assault. Among the few survivors of the disaster were the princes Askold and Dir, who thereupon became Christians, and returned to set up Christianity in Kiev. They subsequently were martyred by their heathen fellow countrymen in 882.

For an estimate of the truth of this legend see Golubinski's *excursus*, i, 35-52. The Varangians of Russia had already before this been in some continuous commercial contact with Constantinople; and commerce continued to be the prominent feature of that intercourse for many years to come.

The earliest record is of a party of Ros, who were sent on an embassy to Constantinople, but found their return road blocked behind them by barbarian tribes. They therefore were sent round by way of Ingelheim, accompanying some Byzantine envoys to the Frankish Court. *Ann. Bertinienses* in Migne, *P.L.* cxv, 1386.

² The principal Chronicle is that which is often known by the name of Nestor. It was not, however, the work of Nestor the Monk of the Pecherskaia Lavra, who wrote in the last quarter of the eleventh century two little works (i) a Life of St. Theodosi with whom he was almost contemporary in the monastery, and (ii) The Acts of SS. Boris and Gleb. The first author of this Chronicle was an unknown monk of the same monastery, possibly Silvester, who became later Higurem of St. Michael's. He compiled a set of annals extending from 850 to 1110. For the last thirty years or so of this period his witness is that of a contemporary, and often of an eye-witness. The earliest extant authority for this Chronicle is a MS. of 1377, written by Lawrence, a monk of Suzdal. This recension shows that the earlier work had been modified and continued by various hands. Another Chronicle, also based upon Pseudo-Nestor, but continued differently, is found in a MS. of slightly later date (c. 1400) written at the Ipatski monastery of Kostroma. These two documents, the Laurentian and the Ipatievski Chronicles, therefore represent the main stream of Russian early records. The former followed the fortunes of the court of the Grand Princedom, moving with it from Kiev northwards to Suzdal and Vladimir. The latter ended in 1200 with the decline in importance of Kiev.

Novgorod was also the source of a set of Chronicles. Some entries concerning Novgorod

or three hundred years later had a good deal to tell both of warlike attacks upon the centre of Eastern Christendom, and of the revenge which it took upon the invaders, both by the miracles which occurred for the defence of the city, and by the more peaceful expedient of christianizing the enemy. But some of the most attractive pages of the chronicler are, it must be confessed, taken from the book of romance rather than from that of history. Not every race enjoys the good fortune of the English people in having an authentic record of a national conversion dramatically brought about; and for lack of it the Russian Church had recourse to the popular tales and story tellers.

Olga (†969) is the chief early heroine, and she is a very real and living person. Her husband Igor, as Prince of Kiev (913-945), was concerned in many diplomatic relations with Constantinople; and she herself as his widow, and as the Regent and Guardian of her son Sviatoslav, paid a visit in 957 to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos at his court. She was apparently already a Christian, or, if not, was then soon to become one. But romance demanded that she should be baptized there; it demanded also that the Emperor should be her sponsor; it devised also the pretty story that he was so struck with her beauty that he wished

are found in the Pecherski Chronicle, which presumably were taken from some Chronicle of Novgorod. Later on the Pecherski Chronicle itself found its way to Novgorod, being utilized in 1167 to enlarge the local compilation. The result of this fusion is chiefly known to us through a compilation made by Herman Voiata of St. James' Church, Novgorod, who died in 1188; and this in turn is the principal source of the Novgorod Chronicle now extant, in a MS. of the Synodal Library at Moscow.

These three sources may be taken as the main authorities for the early history so far as Chronicles are concerned. There is no English translation of the Pseudo-Nestor Chronicle, but two French translations exist (1) that of L. Paris (2 vols., 1834) uncritical and inadequate; (2) that of L. Léger (Paris, 1884) in *Ecole des langues orientales vivantes*, II, vol. xiii. For the Laurentian Chronicle see the edition printed at Petrograd in 1897; and for the Ipatievski Chronicle the edition printed there in 1908. The *Chronicle of Novgorod* forms vol. xxv. of the Camden Society, 3rd Series (London, 1914). Part of the prefatory matter is an account by Prof. Shakhmatov of the intricate connexion of the different early Chronicles (pp. xxxvii.-xli.).

The great collection of Chronicles is the *Polnoie Sobranie*, published by the Russian Archæographical Commission from 1846 onwards.

See also Golub. i, 777-793, for an account of these early Chronicles. Another account, which gives different solutions of some of the many problems connected with the matter is in Kliuchevski, ch. i-iii.

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to marry her—though she was some 67 years of age : and then it told, with great satisfaction, how she, by accepting him as her sponsor, outwitted and defeated him as her suitor.

In 955 Olga went to Greece and arrived at Constantinople. The Emperor there was Zimisce. Olga visited him, and he saw that she was altogether fine in countenance and disposition, and marvelled at her wisdom. In conversing with her he said : “Thou art worthy to reign with us here in Constantinople.” She, when she understood what the Emperor had said, made reply : “I am a heathen ; if thou willest that I be baptized, baptize me thyself ; or if not, I will not be baptized.” And the Emperor baptized her with the Patriarch. When she was enlightened, she rejoiced in spirit and in body ; and the Patriarch gave her instruction in the faith, and said : “Blessed art thou among Russian women, because thou hast loved light, and forsaken darkness : the Russian peoples will bless thee to the latest generation of thy descendants.” And he enjoined on her the church system, prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, with keeping of chastity in body. She bowed her head and stood taking in his teaching, as a sponge drinks up water : then doing obeisance to the Patriarch she said, “By thy prayers, my lord, I shall verily be preserved from the snares of the enemy.”

At her baptism the name of Helena was given to her, according to the name of the ancient Empress, the mother of Constantine the Great. The Patriarch dismissed her with his blessing.

After the baptism the Emperor summoned her and said, “I desire myself to wed thee.” She replied, “How canst thou desire to wed me, when thou thyself didst christen me and call me ‘daughter’ : thou well knowest how that is not lawful to Christians.” And the Emperor said, “Oh, Olga, thou hast outwitted me.”

He gave her many presents—gold and silver, choice fabrics, costly vessels, and bade her farewell, calling her his daughter. She, intending to return homewards, went to the Patriarch to beg his blessing on her home, and said to him, “My people and my son are heathen—that God may keep me from all harm.” The Patriarch replied : “My true child, thou art baptized into Christ, and hast put on Christ ; Christ keep thee as he kept Enoch in the first days, and Noah in the ark—as he kept Abraham from Abimelech, Lot from the men of Sodom, Moses from Pharaoh, David from Saul, the three children from the furnace, and Daniel from the lions, so may he keep thee from the enemy and his toils.”

Thus the Patriarch blessed her, and she came in peace to her country and arrived at Kiev.

It is interesting to see the matter from the opposite

point of view. Here is the Byzantine account of her reception :

On Wednesday, the 9th of September, there was a reception in all respects like the previous one (of a Saracen envoy) at the coming of the Russian princess, Olga. The princess approached with the princesses of her kindred and her chosen attendants, she going before the rest of the women, and they following in order one behind another. She stood at the place where the Logothet is accustomed to submit the questions. Behind her came the *Apocrisarii* and officials of the Russian princes, and they stood farther off at the Curtains. The further proceedings were like those of the previous reception. The princess, retiring again through the *Anadendradion* and the Hall of the *Candidati* and the Hall where the *kamelaukion* stands, and where the magistrates are, went across through the *Onopodion* and the Golden Hand or portico of the *Augusteon* and sat there.

When the Emperor had entered the palace in the usual way there followed a second reception in the following manner.

Then follows the formal reception by the Empress, described at fuller length by the ceremonialistic Emperor. Finally a third and more informal reception by both Emperor and Empress took place in the apartments of the Empress.

It is a long way from the romantic Russian Chronicle to the punctilio of the Byzantine Court. In some respects the latter corrects the former, for the Emperor was Constantine, not Zimisce, and the date was 957 : but on the question of Olga's baptism it is merely silent.¹ This silence may not be decisive against the story of Olga's baptism at Constantinople, either before or after her reception by the Emperor.

From the other end of the world comes a curious piece of evidence confirming the story that Olga was baptized at Constantinople. Of any efforts made by her for the

¹ There are these two demonstrable inaccuracies in the Russian account. The Laurentian version of the Pecherski Chronicle gives the date 955 ; but the Emperor himself records the visit as occurring in 957 : *ἐκθεσις τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως*, ii, 15 (in Migne, *P.G.* cxii, 1108) being Constantine Porphyrogenetos (912-959) and not John Zimisce (969-976). The precise year is determined by the fact that 957 is the only year in which September 9th fell on a Wednesday. These errors raise some suspicions as to the value of the details of the rest of the story, and especially concerning the sponsorship. Russian historians are much divided upon the question whether the main matter, the baptism of Olga at Constantinople, is true or not.

conversion of her son or her countrymen we know little. There is no tradition of Olga having sought to get a bishop or any clergy for her country from Constantinople—though if she had done so, the fact would probably have been eagerly recorded and quoted. But it appears from some Latin chronicles that she made such a request from Otto the Frankish Emperor in 959; and in one of them she is described as “Helena who was christened at Constantinople.”

It seems as if Olga was anxious to distribute her obligations between East and West, like others before her; and therefore turned to Frankfort for the completion of what Constantinople had begun. In any case the negotiations ended in disaster. The first man, Libutius, consecrated for the work as bishop, died before he started; the second, Albert, went in 961, but returned in the following year, having effected nothing, and only with difficulty escaped with his life from the hands of the heathen.¹

Olga thus made her effort; but the time, it seems, had not yet come for a national move towards the Christian faith. Presumably, therefore, her further activities were only of a private and unobtrusive character down to the time of her death in 969.

Be that as it may, Olga deserved her place in the Christian romance of Russia; and the chronicler speaks no more than the truth when he says of her that she was the Morning Star that precedes the sun—the dawn that foreshadows the day.

Her influence was greater over her grandson than over her son. So long as Sviatoslav ruled, no high

¹ The additions to the Chronicle of Regino of Prüm, made probably *c.* 967 (when they cease), record under date 959.—

Legati Helenae reginae Rugorum, quae sub Romano imperatore Constantinopolitano Constantinopoli baptizata est, fide (ut post claruit), ad regem venientes, episcopum et presbyteros eidem genti ordinari petebant: Migne, *P.L.* cxxxii, 166.

The rest of the story is given under succeeding years. The reference to Romanus is mistaken, for he succeeded Constantine only in 959: but the rest is valuable. Shorter references to the same event may be found in the Annals of Hildesheim, of Quedlinburg, and the Chronicle of Lambert (Migne, *P.L.* cxli, 507-510) and the Chronicle of Thietmar, ii, 14 (*ib.* cxxxix, 212).

See Golub. *excursus* in I, i, 102-3.

favour was likely to be shown to Christianity ; but yet his victory over the Bulgarians told in that direction, for through it the Slavonic writing and literature, including a fairly complete version of the Bible, found their way into Russia. Twenty years later, in the days of his younger son Vladimir, the dramatic moment arrived. Christianity was officially adopted, and the great idol of Perun was dethroned to make way for a Christian Church at Kiev, round which the future Christianity of Russia should love to group itself.

Again the chronicler borrows from the romancer : but his story, even if it is not historically true, is yet not without a large element of real symbolical truth. It is related that the Grand Prince was attacked on several sides by the advocates of different forms of belief. The Mohammedans from among the Bulgars, the German Catholics from the West, the Greeks from the South, and the Jews from many quarters, were all trying to persuade him that their own way in religion was the best. So in distraction he called his Boiars together and asked their advice. At their suggestion he sent out envoys to investigate the rival claimants. When the messengers returned they reported the prostrations and movements of the Mohammedans in prayer ; but said that they gazed about like men possessed. " There is no joy among them but mournfulness and a great smell : and there is nothing good in their system." They next reported briefly of the Germans, that their worship was devoid of beauty. But of Constantinople the report was pitched in a different key. The envoys recounted thus, as the result of their attendance at the services there : " They took us to the place where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were on earth or in heaven, for surely such richness and magnificence could not be found anywhere upon earth. We cannot recount it to you ; only this we know that God abides there with His people, and that their service surpasses that of all other places." When this report was made to the Grand Prince and his Council, some of

the Boiars chimed in, saying, "If the Greek system had been bad, thy grandmother Olga would not have adopted it, for she was the wisest of all people." "Where then shall we be baptized," said Vladimir. "Wherever you wish," the Boiars replied.

This is the ecclesiastical story; it is apparently a subsequent addition to the Chronicle, and it looks suspiciously like an attempt of later days to strengthen the hold of Constantinople on the Russian Church.¹

There is also a military story which is somewhat different and more commonplace. It explains that Vladimir's resolve to adopt Christianity dated from his siege of Kherson in the Crimea. He vowed to adopt the Greek religion if he succeeded in taking the city. An arrow shot from within carried to him the suggestion that he should cut off the water supply. He did so, the city yielded, and Vladimir felt himself pledged.

The matter is pushed further by another incident. Vladimir as conqueror of Kherson demanded of the Emperors, Basil and Constantine, their sister Anna in marriage, adding the threat that if the demand was refused, he would do to Constantinople as he had done to Kherson. The Emperors replied that they could give her only on condition that Vladimir became a Christian. He thereupon asked for some one to baptize

¹ The Pecherski chronicler assigns these attacks on Vladimir to 986; the greater part of his account is taken up by the arguments of a "philosopher" on behalf of the Greeks, who ended by exhibiting with realistic comments a picture of the Last Judgment. The rest is recorded under 987. The final question of Vladimir seems to be a reference to the story of Olga's baptism at Constantinople. But the record of this incident not only is presumably a subsequent addition to the Russian Chronicle, but, even if original, is a century later than the event: so it is of little value as evidence about Olga.

The two stories of (1) the coming of the missionaries to Vladimir, and (2) of his sending the envoys and their investigation, are not found in the earlier writers who tell of Vladimir's conversion. The Metropolitan Hilarion spoke of it in his book *On Law and Grace* written between 1037 and 1050 (Golub. i, 841-6): the Pecherski monk Jacob wrote of it also in his work concerning Vladimir and Olga about twenty-five years later (Golub. i, 743-6): and Nestor, writing in the same monastery a short time after, spoke of Vladimir's conversion in his *Life of SS. Boris and Gleb*. But none of these alludes to either of these stories as recounted from the Pecherski Chronicle. Another document of the same period as the last two, an anonymous "Life of Vladimir," is equally reticent so far as the coming of the missionaries is concerned, but it has a briefer form of the story of the envoys. It seems, therefore, to be intermediate between the earlier and the later accounts of the matter (Golub. I, i, 119-125; 224-227).

him; a bishop and clergy came with Anna, and they found him suffering from some eye disease: this, however, vanished when they baptized him there, giving him the Christian name of Basil.¹

These and other conflicting stories make it difficult to disentangle the exact details. The points that seem clearest are, the influence that Olga had upon Vladimir, and his own willingness for baptism as contrasted with the attachment of the Boiars to the old tradition. It may well be that his victory at Kherson gave him the power to carry through what he had previously desired, and that he was thereupon in the position, either to proclaim his baptism already received at home, or to receive publicly at Kherson what he had hitherto not ventured to seek. We may also suspect that his dealings in general with the Greeks were designed in order to forward the plans of conversion.

In any case it was Vladimir who led the way to the conversion of the Russian Court. When the great idol of Perun on the hill-top at Kiev was thrown down and cast into the river, Vladimir built on the site a church dedicated to his patron St. Basil. The priests who accompanied Anna, and (according to tradition) some of those of Kherson, performed great baptisms of those who, more or less instructed, were ready to follow their Prince's example.

¹ The story is given in the anonymous "Life of Vladimir," and reproduced in an expanded form in the Pecherski Chronicle. The two texts are given parallel in Golub. I, i, 227-238. But different forms of the Chronicle differ as to details. If the date 987 be accepted for Vladimir's baptism, and the date 989 for the final capture of Kherson after two years' siege, the general conversion will follow on the arrival of the Greek clergy at Kiev, probably in 990: though the tradition that many Boiars were baptized at Kherson may remain acceptable, even though it be supposed that Vladimir himself was not.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

THE impulse given by this start was not soon exhausted, and a short sketch is necessary here of the ways in which the missionary work was constituted down to the time of the Tartar domination. Soon it was necessary to seek a bishop; and in 991 Leo was sent from Constantinople and began the definite organization of the Church.¹ It was at first very dependent upon the patriarchal city. For four and a half centuries nearly all the metropolitans of Kiev were appointed from Constantinople, and consecrated there. The fifth of the series, however, was a Russian, Hilarion by name, who was chosen in 1051 by Yaroslav as Grand Prince. This case was exceptional and did not form a precedent. A century later, in 1147, when another Russian was appointed, named Clement, the action caused a breach with Constantinople. Two bishops in the synod which appointed him protested against the step taken; and a good deal of other trouble followed. For nine years Clement occupied the post, neither recognizing the Patriarch nor recognized by him. Then Yuri succeeded Iziaslav as Grand Prince, and sent to Constantinople for some one to take Clement's place. So a return was made to the traditional plan, which subsisted indeed until the fall of Constantinople. Probably the two exceptional cases mentioned must be regarded rather as due to the personal action of the Grand Prince of the day than to any general wish for

¹ The statement that there was an earlier metropolitan named Michael rests upon a misunderstanding of an event which happened a century earlier. See Golub. I, i, 276-281: there follows there a list of the early metropolitans and a description of the exceptional cases mentioned in the text.

an alteration in the normal plan. Others besides Greeks were found from time to time among the nominees of the Patriarchs; but very few of the whole series were men capable of leaving any mark behind them in history. These two Russians stand out as conspicuous characters apart from the unusual circumstances of their appointment, for Hilarion was one of the earliest native theological writers,¹ while Clement was renowned both for his conspicuous piety and his learning. It is clear, therefore, the appointment of Greeks was due not to a lack (after the earliest days) of competent native bishops, but to some theory that the other plan was more fitting.

The strengthening of Kiev as the Christian centre was marked by the royal establishment of churches and monasteries. The Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin was begun by Vladimir on the hill where Perun had stood: it seems to have incorporated, or superseded, or eclipsed, the Church of St. Basil which was first set there. It

¹ The early vernacular literature is described in Golub. I, i, 728-870. The first Slavonic translations were due to SS. Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Southern Slavs in the second half of the ninth century. The work was carried on among the Bulgars, so that there was available for the Russian Church from the first a certain supply of Slavonic theological literature, as well as the Bible and the most necessary liturgical and canon-law books. Yaroslav was energetic in still further increasing this provision for his own people. Works of SS. John of Damascus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen were available, together with some biblical commentaries, some law-books, some sermons of Ephraim Syrus, Theodore the Studite, Chrysostom and others, some hagiology and some historical works. Native Russian historical literature began with the monk Jacob (c. 1072) and his two contributions to the history of his church: (1) The Martyrdom of Boris and Gleb, and (2) The story of Vladimir and Olga. Nestor, the monk of the Pecherski Monastery (c. 1090), if not the founder of the Chronicles (see I, note 8), was at any rate the author of two historical works: (1) Another account of Boris and Gleb, and (2) A life of the Abbot Theodosi. The history of this monastery was carried on by the *Paterik*, a book which, following the example of Greek books of a similar character, contained a collection of anecdotes relating to the piety, wisdom and miracles of the most famous fathers of the monastery. The framers of this collection were Simon bishop of Vladimir (1214-1226) and his pupil Polycarp, a monk of the house. The monastic life is further described in a few other books of this date, and conspicuously by an almost contemporary life of Abraham of Smolensk (c. 1200), lately edited by Rozanov.

The theological literature goes back to a slightly earlier date than the historical. Hilarion, the first Russian metropolitan (1051-5), was the author of the treatise *On Law and Grace*, to which allusion has already been made. It is interesting also to notice that there survives a work of the second Russian metropolitan Clement (1147-54) in the form of an Epistle addressed to Thomas of Smolensk. The bulk of the rest of the literature of this class consists of sermons and instructions. The earliest of the writings of this sort is a discourse of Luke Jidiata, a bishop almost contemporary with Hilarion. The most considerable of these writings are the sermons and minor works of Cyril

stood out for many a year unique among Russian churches as being built of stone. After five years of work it was consecrated in 996, and became the Church of the Grand Prince.

With its consecration was associated the Prince's gift of tithes to the Church, so much so that the Cathedral itself was known as the "Church of the Tithes," from the very day of the consecration, when Vladimir, after praying like Solomon that God would take up his abode there, added: "I give to this church of the holy Mother of God the tithe from my estates and from my towns."

The metropolitan seems to have lived in the early days mainly at Pereaslavl, sixty miles away from Kiev; and only when the Grand Prince Yaroslav had built the Church of St Sophia, and a metropolitical house adjoining, did he set up his residence at Kiev (c. 1037),¹ and take that church as his cathedral.

Thus Yaroslav carried on his father's work as a church

bishop of Turov, which belong to the second half of the twelfth century. Others of special interest are the two Instructions of Abbot Theodosi, the second founder of the Pecherski Monastery (†1074), and the Instruction given by Elias, archbishop of Novgorod, to his clergy in 1166. A few other discourses survive of the early period previous to 1240, some by known authors, and some anonymous. With these must be classed a very celebrated Instruction written by a layman and no less a person than the Grand Prince Vladimir Monomach (1114-25). It was addressed primarily to his own children, but it became and was probably intended to be a public document. It was incorporated after the annals of the year 1096 in some forms of the early Pecherski Chronicle. One of the most popular of the early writings, as the large number of surviving MSS. shows, was the abbot Daniel's full and interesting account of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1106-7. This is accessible in an English version (made through the French) to be found in the fourth vol. of the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (1895). It is paralleled but not equalled by the account of a pilgrimage to Constantinople written by Anthony, afterwards archbishop of Novgorod, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. These testify to the early development among the Russians of interest in the Holy Places. For later theological literature see Philaret of Kharkov.

There is but little vernacular literature apart from the traditional poetry and folklore, the *Byliny* and other products of the epic age: for which see Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People* (1872); Hapgood, *The Epic Songs of Russia* (1915); Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales* (1873); Magnus, *Russian Folk Tales* (1916); and cheap Russian texts in the *Russkaia Klassnaia Biblioteka*. But more definite personal attempts at literature exist in the *Tale of the Armament of Igor* (text and E.T. by L. A. Magnus, 1915), and the curious *Letter of Daniel the Captive to Prince Yuri Dolgoruki*.

¹ The quotation is from the Pecherski Chronicle.

The earliest metropolitan even took his title from Pereaslavl; *Ἀέων μητροπολίτης τῆς ἐν Ρωσῇ Πρεσθλάβας* is the form found in some MSS. of the work of Leo against *Azymas*. See Golub. I, i, 328, 954; and Pavlov, *Polemic*, p. 115 n, where the work in question is printed on pp. 115-132.

builder ; the Boiars followed suit, and the multiplication of churches in Kiev was such that when a fire took place in 1124 it is said to have destroyed as many as sixty.¹ Monastic foundations were also made by the Grand Princes. The greatest Russian monasteries, however, were made, not by princely foundations, but by saintly masters of the devout life. The famous Pecherski monastery at Kiev was begun by Anthony, a Russian, who went from his home to Athos, the great monastic centre of Greece, in order to enter the monastic life. The Higumen or abbot sent him back to Russia. But he found there no monastery comparable to what he had left : so he began a solitary life in the grottoes (*Peshchery*) outside Kiev (c. 1051). Round him there gathered others as his disciples, who made themselves grottoes hard by. Among them was Theodosi, who at a later stage brought together the hermit monks from their several caves, and organized the Pecherski monastery on the basis of a corporate life.

Under Theodosi's stimulating influence the Lavra became a centre of learning as well as piety. Hither came Nestor at the age of 17, who lived to write two of the earliest of extant Russian writings (†1116) ; and here began the famous Pecherski Chronicle, often attributed to Nestor, but probably not his.

From Kiev as the chief Christian stronghold the movement radiated outwards through all the territory which was under the rule of Vladimir. The expansion may be traced to some extent in the establishment of further dioceses. It is computed that eight besides that of Kiev were established by Vladimir. Two of these were close at hand and under his immediate jurisdiction. One of these had its centre at Chernigov, and its inauguration was probably the earliest piece of diocesan extension ; the second was set up at Bielgorod, a little place some fifteen miles south-west of Kiev, where the Grand Prince had a large estate. The bishop (or indeed

¹ Philaret, i, 107.



CHURCH OF ST. DMITRI, AT VLADIMIR (1194-7).

To face p. 17.

ORGANIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH 17

archbishop) of Bielgorod seems to have acted as a domestic prelate.

The other sees were set up in the chief towns of the apanages, or dependent principalities, which were held by different members of the House of Rurik under the supremacy of the Grand Prince of Kiev.¹ In only one of these centres does the opposition of heathenism seem to have been seriously active, namely at Rostov. The bishopric of that place was among the first to be established (991). But Rostov was a centre of non-Russian people: and among them there was more opposition than among the Russians. The two first bishops seem to have been entirely unsuccessful; and it was only in the long episcopate of the third (up till 1077) that the missionary efforts began to be crowned with results.²

Elsewhere in the principalities of Vladimir's sons the example of the Grand Prince seems to have been followed with success. Churches were built in the chief centres; and even in comparatively small principalities a bishopric was set up. Tithes were given by the princes for the support of the churches and the principal clergy.

Monasteries too came into being, which were valuable as centres of piety and christianization, and schools made provision for the future supply of clergy.

This extension of the episcopate made necessary the settlement of the relation of the metropolitan to his suffragans—for such the new bishops became. The

¹ The sees expressly mentioned by the chronicler are Chernigov, Rostov, Vladimir-Volynski, and Bielgorod: the others which are known to be early in date are Turov, Polotsk and Tmutarakan. The last was set up in a small apanage and did not last long. See Golub. i, 334-341, and for details of the dioceses 664-700, and for the bishops see Stroiev.

² There is very little to record in the way of martyrdoms for the faith. Askold and Dir were put to death before Vladimir's time while there was considerable heathen hostility. SS. Boris and Gleb, another pair reckoned as martyrs, were sons of Vladimir, and forfeited their lives to their brother, primarily as victims of family rivalries, though they were taken to represent the Christian spirit as against the heathen temper of Sviatopolk, who was only nominally Christian (1015). Their deaths were celebrated in two of the earliest extant writings, the lives by (a) Jacob, who was perhaps a monk originally of the monastery at Pereaslavl founded on the spot where Boris was killed, and (b) Nestor, the monk of the Pecherski monastery at Kiev. Miracles multiplied round their tomb, for the body of Gleb was translated in 1020 to lie with his brother's in St. Basil's Church at Vyshgorod, where several successive buildings were erected to enshrine them. In the Mongol invasion church and relics alike perished.

first occupants of these sees, being all, or almost all of them, Greeks, very naturally tended to set up the ecclesiastical system to which they were accustomed. The outlying bishops became dependent upon the central bishop: thus every one at first grouped round Kiev. As the Christian sphere enlarged the multiplication of dioceses proceeded but slowly. Eight were added to the eight already set up between the days of Vladimir and the Mongol incursion (1240), and one disappeared, leaving fifteen dioceses to cover a vast area. The dioceses, therefore, were very large, and the sphere of Kiev's supervision very extensive; but no subdivision of the whole area into provinces took place. An attempt was made by Prince Andrew Bogoliubski to secure a metropolitan of his own at Vladimir, as part of his general plan of aggrandizement (1162); but the Patriarch declined to allow it, and all Russia continued as one province under Kiev. The title of "archbishop," as given to the court prelate of Bielgorod in the earliest days, or to the occupant of the see of Novgorod, or now to prominent bishops, is purely honorary and does not imply a province.

The secular clergy in the earliest days were eligible as bishops; and only after half a century had elapsed from the conversion of Russia were there Russian monks available for election to episcopal sees. Bishops were in any case bound to live celibate lives: and it is not always possible to say which of them in the early days were monks, and which were not. But in Russia, more rapidly than in Greece, there developed a preference for monks to serve as bishops, until it became unusual, at any rate for a Russian, to become a bishop, unless he were a monk: though the preference is less marked in the case of bishops of Greek origin. This preference is no doubt partly connected with the high position that the monasteries soon acquired in Russia, and with the fact that they attracted to themselves men who were prominent through position and education, as well as through the monastic piety so dear to the Russian soul.

But the same tendency developed also in Greek areas, until the present custom prevailing in both spheres was established, of choosing the bishops from among the monks.

The position of the clergy, like that of the bishops, rested to some extent upon Greek precedent, but in some respects diverged from it. They acquired in the eyes of the civil government a special status: they were subjected to the ecclesiastical courts of the bishop or of the metropolitan, not only in regard to their ecclesiastical duties, but in nearly all respects; and were thus exempted from civil jurisdiction. The same was the case with secular dependants of the clergy—tenants, etc. Such segregation may have been desirable in the early days; but later on, here as elsewhere, it developed to an unhealthy extent and became the root of much trouble.¹ So far as church law is concerned the Russian Church naturally followed its Byzantine mother. At first it was poorly equipped with translations of the Byzantine law books in Slavonic; and only gradually was it provided either with these in full measure, or with any collection of local church ordinances of the Russian authorities both ecclesiastical and civil.²

¹ The organization of the Church is very fully discussed by Golub. I, i, ch. 3; more briefly by Philaret, i, §§32–39. There are two orders (*ustav*) dealing with the matter professing to emanate the one from Vladimir and the other from Yaroslav (1051–4); but neither of them is genuine in any of the present forms. The development of church jurisdiction is too advanced to belong to such a date, and each contains historic anachronisms and improbabilities. Each of them is given (in one of several existing forms) in Pharphorovski, i, pp. 19 and 20, and there is an English translation of the former in Palmer, *Patr. and Tsar*, i, 330. For a favourable verdict on them see Kliuch. ch. xi. The earliest genuine order on the subject of church jurisdiction is the Ordinance (*gramota*) of Rostislav Prince of Smolensk, issued at the establishment of the bishopric there in 1150. It is printed in Pharphorovski, i, 105–8.

The three are discussed in Golub. i, 398–415, and further at pp. 617–642. No other authentic document dealing with this subject exists for the period before the Mongol invasion.

² The Byzantine canon law was made up of two sources: (i) the ecclesiastical legislation of the emperors, and (ii) the canons of councils generally received, and, with them as a supplement, the decisions of church doctors and fathers reckoned to be authoritative, together with the patriarchal ordinances analogous to the papal decretals of the West. When these two were combined, the compound term “Nomocanon” was adopted to be the title of the collection. There are two pre-eminent stages in the history of the *Nomocanon*. The first is represented by the *Nomocanon* called after John the Scholastic (†578), because it resulted from the fusion of the collection of canons made by John and called *Συναγωγή κανόνων*, with a series of documents collected by him and by

While the Church was thus becoming organized, Christianity itself was making its way, and becoming a civilizing and unifying force throughout the many areas which made up the Russia of that day. While Vladimir lived, a firm hand was kept by him upon the whole of the land which owned his suzerainty. But weaker men followed him as Grand Princes, and the difficulties caused by the system of principalities held in rotation continually became acute. The Grand Princes held in control directly or indirectly so much as they could of the country. When their area became large they divided off fresh portions of it and entrusted them to the rule of their sons or other relations.

These principalities in the early days were graded

others belonging to the other classes of documents above mentioned. This was made in the sixth century. Fresh materials of the same sort accumulated as time went on. For example, the Trullan Council in 692 not only made a definite decision as to which of the existing sets of conciliar canons were to be taken as authoritative, but it also added 102 disciplinary canons of its own. Again, the second Council of Nicæa in 787 produced a fresh set of 22 canons to be added to the authoritative councils; and the councils of the era of Photius produced more material, but of much more questionable authority. Consequently the old *Nomocanon* had to be enlarged to include the new accessions. The second stage is reached when Photius took the whole matter in hand again, and produced a new *Nomocanon* in 883 (*P.G.* civ). This has formed the basis of all subsequent orthodox canon law. A series of epitomes reduced it to a more handy compass: and the great series of commentators, Zonaras (1120), Balsamon (1170), and Blastares (1330), in different forms took it as the basis of their expositions and codifications. See for these *P.G.* cxxiv. and v.; cxxvii. and viii.; cxliv. and v. It is clear that the Russian Church might have started with the *Nomocanon* of Photius; but apparently it did not, for lack of a Slavonic translation. It had at first to depend upon a Bulgarian translation of some forms of the older *Nomocanon* made in the ninth century; and the Photian *Nomocanon* only became available through the Serbian version made by Archbishop Sabbas (1221-37). This was adopted by the Russian Metropolitan Cyril and by the Synod held at Vladimir in 1274.

See Golub. I, i, 428-431 and 642-660; II, i, 62-64; Berdnikov, pt. i, § 2.

The imported church law would naturally be supplemented in time by documents of local origin emanating from Russian councils, prelates or princes; and also by new patriarchal decisions dealing with Russian affairs. But of documents of such sorts only very little has survived. Two patriarchal acts are extant belonging to the early period before the Mongol domination: (1) the patriarchal letter to Bogoliubski refusing to sanction the establishment of a metropolitan at Vladimir and dealing with some further matters; and (2) a patriarchal letter of 1228 forbidding the ordination of unenfranchised slaves. See for these Pavlov, *Pamiatniki*, nos. 3 and 5.

No ecclesiastical acts of Grand Princes of this period are extant since the orders of Vladimir and Yaroslav are not genuine. See p. 19, note 1. Besides the Ordinance of Rostislav there mentioned there is only one other document representing the action of a prince, viz., the Ordinance of Prince Sviatoslav of Novgorod, 1137, dealing with the episcopalities. See it in Pharph. i, 102.

There are no official Acts of Councils or Bishops extant for this period; but a list of six semi-official documents is given in Golub. I, i, 436-8.

according to value and importance, and the princes succeeded to them in a complicated order of seniority. But as time went on this rotary system was broken up, and the apanages became more permanently attached to a particular branch of the princely family.

Thus a process of disintegration and reintegration went on continually in the political sphere; and though Kiev long maintained an unquestioned supremacy, this too began to break down after the time of Bogoliubski in the middle of the twelfth century. In general the Church was the stable and unifying element in the situation.

This is specially seen to be the case from the history of the ancient city of Novgorod, on the Volkhov, 100 miles south-east of the modern Petrograd. The city was one of the earliest centres of settled life and commerce, and a great territory depended upon it.¹ Here it gradually became impossible for any hereditary prince to dominate the government; so there was an elective prince who was the executive officer of the whole body of citizens gathered in their *Vieche* or General Assembly. In the earliest days which followed the coming of Rurik the Northman (c. 862) to be its ruler, it had been the main centre of Varangian rule. But the princes found it to lie too far in the north. They therefore, in the next generation, transferred themselves and their rule to distant Kiev and the south; consequently the principality became subject to Kiev, and was generally ruled by one of the Grand Prince's sons. In the middle of the twelfth century Novgorod began to shake itself free. It took advantage of its own growing wealth and territory, as well as of the feuds of the princes in the south, to become democratic while retaining an elective prince, and so to develop

¹ On the system of government of the House of Rurik see Kliuch. ch. vii. and viii. See also ch. xix. for the system of Novgorod. For the graphic details of the history of the city of the North see *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, 1016-1471 (Camden Soc.), and Dr. Beazley's Introduction. The text is taken from the best authority, but this begins in 1016 and does not include the earliest entries of the chronicles with regard to Novgorod, which must be sought in the Pecherski Chronicle (A.D. 947, 970, 977, 980, 997, 1014, 1018, 1021, 1024-36) and in later forms of the various chronicles.

politically on its own quasi-republican lines. In the thirteenth century, when the power and hegemony of the Grand Prince at Kiev disappeared under pressure from the Tartar, the position of Novgorod grew stronger.

Kiev itself fell in 1240, and a new centre for the Metropolitan had before long to be found, lying further north, and more off the line of the Tartar hordes; so his see settled for a time at Vladimir.¹ But from these troubles Novgorod was to a large extent immune. In 1240, when Kiev was falling, Alexander Nevski, one of the ablest and most permanent of the princes of Novgorod, was winning his famous victory over the Swedes upon the Neva. But powerful though he was, even he was subsequently obliged to realize that, for the time being, the Tartars were the masters. There is thus the widest difference in political history subsisting between Novgorod on the one hand, and on the other the successive capitals of the House of Rurik—that is to say, Kiev, Vladimir, and finally, from 1328 onwards, Moscow. But no such difference is noticeable in the ecclesiastical sphere. The Archbishop of Novgorod is one of a group of Russian bishops: like the rest he depends upon the Metropolitan of all Russia, who is the spiritual counterpart of the Grand Prince, living either at Kiev, Vladimir or Moscow. Though the archbishop is chosen by the Prince and citizens of Novgorod, the election must be confirmed by the metropolitan.

Similarly in other details of church life, some already

¹ The transference of the metropolitan see was accomplished gradually. The centre of gravity of the power of the Russian princes had tended to shift from Kiev to Vladimir ever since Andrew Bogoliubski had ruled there as Grand Prince (†1175). The fate of Metropolitan Joseph at the fall of Kiev is unknown; but he is heard of no more, and Cyril III, a Russian, succeeds him. Kiev had before its capture passed from the rule of its own Grand Princes under the rule of the Grand Prince of Galicia. Two years later, when the Tartars had retired and the Galician Grand Prince returned to his dominions, the way was open for him to bring about the election of Cyril in 1242. This was accepted by the Grand Prince of Vladimir. A great part of Cyril's long tenure of the see (1242–1281) was spent as a wanderer. Vladimir was often his residence, and the length of time that he kept the see of Vladimir open (1238–1274) suggests that he was contemplating the transference of the metropolitan see thither, in order to be in the capital of the Grand Prince. But he remained nominally settled at Kiev and was buried there. It was not till 1299, in the days of his successor Maxim (1283–1305), that the transference was definitely made. See also p. 48.

touched upon and others to be considered shortly Novgorod does not stand alone, but all the various Russian territories are alike. The Church is the unifying force in both doctrine and organization. The position is not unlike that of Anglo-Saxon history in the eighth century. In both countries in this one respect alone, not to speak of others, the Church renders invaluable service to the nation.

While the Russian nation was progressing in its early days of expansion during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Church was going forward hand in hand with it, but engaged in a gentler task than that of conquest, *viz.*, that of civilization and christianization. Then came the great set-back due to the Tartar Invasion and Domination.

The Mongol tribes who had hitherto been divided and weak were united under the great leader known as Genghis Khan (*i.e.*, the Supreme Khan). At the beginning of the thirteenth century he set up his central rule at Karakorum; and four years before his death in 1227 the Russians made their sad acquaintance with this new force of barbarism. Some Tartar bands were working their way upward from the south in pursuit of some fleeing subjects of the Great Khan. The Russians united to repel them, but were defeated at the river Kalka in May 1223. The hordes pressed on, ravaging to within fifty miles of Kiev, and then turned homewards. The echo of the horrors involved penetrated to distant Novgorod; and the chronicler records thus :—

The same year, for our sins, unknown tribes came. No one exactly knows who they are nor whence they came, nor what their language is, nor of what race they are, nor what their faith is; but they call them Tartars. . . . God alone knows who they are and whence they came out. Very wise men know them, who understand books; but we do not know who they are, but have written of them here for the sake of the memory of the Russian Princes and of the misfortunes which they encountered from them. . . .

Kotyan came with the Princes of the Polovets, gave greeting to his son-in-law Mstislav in Galicia and to all the Russian Princes,

and brought many gifts—horses and camels, buffaloes and girls, . . . saying thus: "Our land they have taken away to-day; and yours will be taken to-morrow." And Mstislav began to appeal to the Russian Princes, his brethren, saying thus: "If we, brothers, do not help them they will certainly surrender to the Tartars; and then their strength will be the greater." . . . And they began to organize their forces, each his own province, and they went having collected the whole Russian land against the Tartars; and were on the Dnieper at Zarub.

Then the Tartars, having learned that the Russian Princes were coming against them, sent envoys to say, "Behold we hear that you are coming against us, having listened to the Polovets men. But we have not occupied your land, nor your towns, nor your villages, nor is it against you that we have come. But we have come, sent by God against our serfs and our horse-herds, the pagan Polovets men; and do you take peace with us. If they escape to you drive them off thence, and take to yourselves their goods. For we have heard that to you also they have done much harm; and it is for this reason also that we are fighting them."

The Russian Princes did not listen to this, but killed all the envoys. They themselves went against them, and took stand on the Dnieper, this side of Oleshe.

And the Tartars sent to them envoys a second time, saying thus, "Since you have listened to the Polovets men, and have killed our envoys, and are coming against us, come then; but we have not touched you; let God judge all." And they let go free their envoys.

After a preliminary encounter, in which the Russians were successful, the disaster began.

The Russian Princes passed over the Dnieper in a body and went all together, and went after them for nine days, and passed over the Kalka river. They sent Yarun with the Polovets men forward as outposts, and themselves took up position there. . . . but the Polovets men ran away back . . . and in their flight trampled the camp of the Russian Princes. And they were all thrown into confusion, and there was a terrible and savage slaughter.

Mstislav Prince of Kiev . . . set up a stockade about him, and fought for three days . . . And there were men in armour with the Tartars and Voievoda Ploskyna. He having kissed the sacred cross to Mstislav and his Princes not to kill them, but to let them go on ransom, lied—the accursed one. He delivered them bound to the Tartars, and they took the stockade, and slaughtered the people. And having taken the princes, they suffocated them, putting them under boards, while they themselves took seat on the top, to have dinner. And thus they ended their lives.

Six of the fleeing princes were killed : one escaped.

And of the rest of the troops every tenth returned to his home. Some the Polovets men killed for their horses, and others for their clothes.

And thus for our sins God put misunderstanding into us ; and a countless number of people perished, and there was lamentation and weeping and grief throughout towns and villages.

For some years the Tartars were not seen again. Genghis Khan died, and at first no one took his place. Soon, however, Baty Khan arose, and headed an army destined for the conquest of Europe. Riazan, Moscow, and Vladimir the capital of the Grand Prince, fell in succession in the winter of 1237-8 ; and the Grand Prince himself was defeated and killed.

The Novgorod chronicler again gives a very graphic account of the series of disasters, as the hordes rolled on irresistibly towards Novgorod itself.

The godless ones pushed on, cutting down everybody like grass, to within 100 versts (65 miles) of Novgorod. God, however, and the great and sacred apostolic cathedral church of St. Sophia and St. Cyril, and the prayers of the holy and orthodox Lord Bishop, and of the faithful Princes and of the very reverend monks of the hierarchical *Vieche* protected Novgorod. And who, brothers, fathers and children, seeing this God's infliction on the whole Russian land, does not lament ?

The attacks, thus broken off, were renewed in 1239 ; and in the following year Kiev fell. The Tartar yoke was riveted on the neck of Russia for two hundred years, and the principalities, even including Novgorod, became tributaries. The pressure was social and religious as well as political, for Tartar ways of life became imposed on some sections of the people, leaving a lasting mark on the domestic and social life of the wealthier Russian families. Further, in some quarters there was Moham-medan pressure also, which might well have had consequences as serious as ensued in other parts of Europe, if it had not met with a very sturdy resistance from Russian Orthodox belief.

In these dark days it was religion that maintained the Russian people united and saved them from

despairing. It did so, not merely by a defensive policy, but also and still more by being aggressive. At the time when contraction, not expansion, became the marked feature of Russian political life, this was not the case with the religious life. The Russians paid tribute to the Tartars, but in revenge they subdued them to the yoke of Christ. The counter-blow to the fall of Kiev in 1240 was the sending of a missionary bishop in 1261 to Sarai the capital of the Tartars on the Volga.¹ This is typical of a great deal else. The hordes, wherever they had retained their primitive Asiatic faith and not adopted Islam, were tolerant of the new teaching and readily persuaded to adopt it.

But the missionary work of the Church and its expansion were not by any means confined to the areas occupied by the Tartars. Everywhere to the north and north-east of the Russian church-centres there were wide stretches of heathenism, where great missionaries like Stephen of Perm,² zealous monasteries and other evangelizing agencies were at work. Even earlier the spread of Christianity had worked southwards, and brought in the firstfruits of the Polovets people. The princes married Russian Christian wives, and took Russian prisoners who were missionaries for the faith. Among them were some monks, whose captivity was probably a voluntary one, incurred or adopted as a

¹ The chronicler only curtly records the matter, and no details are known. "In that year the metropolitan appointed Mitrophan as Bishop of Sarai." But the Bishop emerges into a clear light in 1276, when he presents to the patriarchal synod in Constantinople a series of questions concerning various ecclesiastical problems, some of a general, and some of a specially missionary character, and receives directions in return: Golub. II, i, 78-80. His later successors were the Bishops of "Krutits."

² A great deal of the missionary work was done very quietly and anonymously by monks and monasteries, pushed forward into the remote parts of the north and the east. Some by hermits, who exercised a wide influence in those desolate regions. But the name of Stephen stands out clear, and his work is conspicuous not only for its devotion but for its efficiency and systematic character. He was a Russian, born at Ustiug in the district of his subsequent work, and had the advantage of knowing from boyhood the language and life of his future converts. A great zeal for learning drew him into the monastery of St. Gregory at Rostov (1365), and there his call to return as a missionary to his old haunts became increasingly clear to him. Thirteen years were spent in preparation. He learnt Greek so as to be the better equipped for dealing with the language and the work of translation. Also during his monastic career he reduced the barbarian



MAP OF RUSSIA.

means of missionary propaganda ; while conversely the captives taken from the Polovets adopted the Christianity of their captors.

In the north-west, Novgorod was a centre of missionary activity : the conversion of the Finns began early in the tenth century, and from that time forward definite efforts were made by the Queen of the North for the christianization of her steadily enlarging territory. But in the westward direction the movement, whether in the north or south of Russia, had little opportunity of extension : for it soon found itself confronted with more or less strong outposts of Latin Christianity.

So in the long dark days of adversity the Russian Church was making a quiet reparation for the political inefficiency and depression. And a steady preparation was also being made for the coming days, when the nation would once again arise, and, casting off the Tartar yoke, would continue to work out its own destiny.

language to system and writing, and made a large number of translations. After being ordained priest, and getting the necessary sanctions at Moscow, he went forth to the Zyrian people (c. 1378) and settled at Ust-Vym. Thence he went all through the Perm country, preaching, confounding the heathen magicians, and destroying the idols. He taught letters to the young men of the people, and trained them to be teachers and clergy—thus laying the foundations of the native church. In 1383 he was himself raised to the episcopate, and his influence and sphere of activity became larger. Not content with dispensing religion and a large-hearted charity to his flock within the limits of his diocese, he became their champion against attack and oppression both in Novgorod and in Moscow. On one such errand in 1396 death overtook him in Moscow after eighteen years of apostolic labour. He was buried in the famous Court Church of the Kremlin—St. Saviour's in the Wood—and was canonized by the Synod of 1549. Golub. II, i, 262-296.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF ORTHODOXY

IT is time now to look back over this early period of Russian Christianity and consider the form adopted.

It has been already noted how definitely Russia had ranged itself on the eastern side of that frontier which marks the division between Latin and Greek Christianity, and how closely its early history was connected, by fact as well as by legend, with Constantinople. It is not surprising that it should desire to retain that connexion. The services of Constantinople to Europe, civilization, and Christendom, in the early middle ages, could hardly be overrated. It stood like a solid fortress of faith and culture against the attacks from north, east and south. In the fifth century it had managed, on the whole, to maintain its empire and the frontier of the Danube against successive waves of Gothic invasion. They were beaten off only to turn further westward and devastate the decadent western half of the empire. It is a relief, then, at such a period, as it is also at various subsequent dates, to turn from the chaos in the West, where barbarism is rampant and Arianism is almost dominant, to find in the Byzantine area that civilization is intact and Orthodoxy less tarnished. In the next century it was the Slavs themselves who caused the trouble to the empire from the north, in company with the Bulgarians; while on the eastern frontier the Persian wars were raging. There were decades of disaster; but once again, enlisted under Heraclius, and inspired by a religious enthusiasm like that of the Crusades, the eastern empire rose to the situation. Constantinople and Europe were saved.

The triumph was but brief, for the climax of its success was also the very moment at which the Moham-medan peril began. But Islam also for many centuries found more than its match in Constantinople. Antioch and Jerusalem fell in the first onslaught : all Egypt was swallowed up except Alexandria. Their Patriarchs, like the rest, had to retire upon Constantinople, and it alone remained strong enough to stand for the Church and the Empire, against Arabs on the east, and against Bulgarians and Slavs on the north, to survive the great peril of the Saracen siege in 718, and to carry on the great traditions.

So far as political and military power was concerned, it was still the *great* Constantinople, the mistress of the East with which the Russian Slavs came into Christian contact in the tenth century. Indeed, in some respects the city was greater then than ever, because of its immense commercial development. Also after two centuries of literary unproductiveness (650-850) the second half of the ninth century had witnessed a great revival of letters ; and the eighty years which made up the two long reigns of the literary emperors, Leo the Wise and Constantine Porphyrogenetos, set a crown upon this literary development. But on the ecclesiastical side the case was different. The great days of Greek theology were over. The stream began to diminish in the sixth century, and continued to dwindle. When John of Damascus died at Jerusalem in the middle of the eighth century there was no one to carry on the tradition. Already in the East, as in the West, Christian literature for the most part had become little more than a reproduction of old material, and that in a slavish and unattractive form. John's chief work, the *πῆγη γνώσεως* or *Well of Knowledge*, great as it is, seems itself to indicate the prevailing state of things. It is a systematic summary of theological knowledge, epitomizing (a) Greek thought, (b) the defeated heresies, and (c) the theology of the patristic period that was gone. It proved to be a much-needed text-book for

the dull days that were to follow. It might have served, in happier circumstances, as a fine starting-point for a scholastic development, such as actually came in the West later on. But there, and at that date, there were no new men ready to carry on John's work. In itself it combined many of the necessary qualifications. It was systematic and comprehensive, and showed some of that zeal to co-ordinate all available knowledge which fired the Western Scholastics to accomplish their best work five centuries later. But John had few contemporaries and no successors; and the very excellence of his work had an almost paralysing effect on later generations. While he wrote, the great controversy on Image-worship was beginning; and he himself, like every one else around him, was being drawn into it. From his monastery of St. Sabbas, near Jerusalem, he sent forth his *Three Orations about Images*, and then left the controversy to smaller men, and among them some who sheltered themselves under the authority of his great name. While the second Council of Nicæa in 787 in theory settled the matter to the disadvantage of the Iconoclasts, the practical victory over them was not secured till later. In 842 the Empress Theodora had the decision of the Council confirmed by the Synod of Constantinople; and thereupon there was instituted the yearly observance of the "Feast of Orthodoxy" as a perpetual memory of the triumph.

These occurrences were significant. The rise of the controversy betokened the opening of a time of theological stagnation. The name of the feast that marked its close was itself significant. The word Orthodoxy had become in the fifth century a standard name for the opposite of heresy; and it came more and more into use, as time went on, as a technical term. The third and last part of St. John Damascene's *Well of Knowledge* had for its title "An accurate exposition of the orthodox faith."¹ Unfortunately, in the circum-

¹ This part, the *De fide orthodoxa*, may be read in an English translation in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. ix, pt. 2 (Oxford, 1899).

stances described, the word tended to lose some of the best of its meaning. The static side of the Christian faith, rather than its dynamic force, came to be emphasized; and successive generations, occupied in maintaining the static, were inclined to forget or even repudiate the dynamic.

The word also began to be used technically in another controversy, which at this time was becoming more acute, between Rome and the rest of the patriarchates, led by Constantinople. At the period when the southern Slavs were being christianized, the dispute was at its highest. Rome and the Papacy had recently been strengthened by its alliance with the Franks and their new western empire; consequently Rome had thrown off the last vestiges of its dependence upon the Emperor of the East. A more powerful support even than that alliance was at this time first put into its hand, in the shape of the Isidorian forged Decretals. They seemed to justify, and to establish as primitive and fundamental, all the claims to unique and divine jurisdiction which the Pope had been making now for some four centuries, but without obtaining much recognition for them in the East. It so happened that at this moment two rivals were contending for the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, *viz.* Ignatius and Photius, and were alternating in the possession of it. The moment was singularly opportune for the intervention in the East of the ablest Pope of the time, Nicholas I. Besides the older points of controversy between the two—points of ecclesiastical polity and also of doctrine—there was added now the additional dispute over the Bulgarians, who, as has been already observed, were now newly converted, and stood undecided whether to face eastwards or westwards.

Out of all these complicated rivalries there came nothing but further estrangement. The Greeks had much of the learning and the ability on their side: and the moral degradation of the papacy in the early part of the tenth century did not tend to make the "ortho-

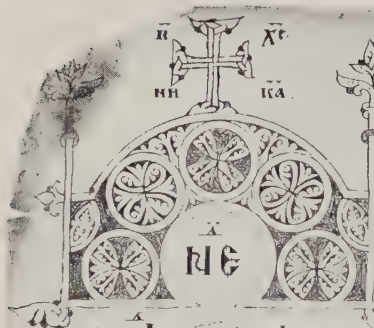
dox" look with more leniency on the heterodoxy of the West. For the moment the lasting breach of communion between the two halves of Christendom was still deferred; and it was in the interval before that rupture took place that the main conversion of the Russian people was brought about.

The Russians therefore contributed nothing to the earlier phase of the breach; they took things as they found them; and very naturally followed their spiritual parents in regarding Rome as a centre of dangerous and autocratic innovation.

The Russians in the same way received as their Christian teaching a severely orthodox and wholly eastern form of doctrine. It came to them as a formulated and completed whole, together with the implication that this and this only is Orthodoxy; and woe to the man who swerves from it! This presentation of the faith was one very suitable in many ways to the existing conditions of the Russian tribes, who were just ready to emerge out of heathenism, and accept a new civilization and a new faith. It is a presentation which has also proved both attractive and effective ever since, in the successive phases of Russian history. St. John of Damascus gave the converts their text-book; and his works still remain in their eyes among the most authoritative and influential of the patristic writings.

This Orthodoxy was, and has remained, profoundly biblical. The Bible and its teaching, spread abroad in the vernacular, was always and everywhere the basis of evangelization. It is to this day the preponderating influence in Russian dogmatic authorities; and the Anglican in reading the Catechisms, or the treatise *On the duty of Parish Priests*, or Platon's *Orthodox Doctrine*, at once feels himself to be breathing a congenial biblical atmosphere.¹

¹ *The Doctrine of the Russian Church* is the title of a valuable set of translations published by R. W. Blackmore in 1845. It contains (i) *The Russian Primer*, (ii) *The Shorter Catechism*, (iii) *The Longer Catechism*, (iv) *The treatise On the Duty of Parish Priests* (1776), with an account of these and other symbolical documents. There is also an official English translation of the *Longer Catechism* (San Francisco, 1901). The *Ortho-*



ПРѢПРОСВѢЩЕ
 И НИМЪ НУ ѿМА
 АУЛОУ АНГІА
 ХВА СНАБЖИ
 ТА ТАКОЖЕ ПИСА
 ПОИСТЪ ВЪ ПРЦѢХЪ
 СЕ АЗЪ ПОСЛАЮ АН
 ГЕЛА МОЕГО ПРѢДЪ
 АНЦЕМЪ ТВОИМЪ
 НИЖЕ ОУСТРОИ ТЯ ПОУ
 ЧЕ ТВОИ ПРѢДЪ ТО
 БЮ. ТАКОЖЕ ПИСА
 ГО ВЪ ПОУСТЫ
 ОУГОТОВАНТЕ
 АГНЬ ПРАВИ

ТВОИ ТЕСТУЗНИ
 БЫТЬ И ѿ АНКАТЕ
 И ВЪ ПОУСТЫНИ
 И ПРОПОВѢДАНІА
 НИ ПОКАСАНИА
 ВЪ ПОУЩЕНИИ ГРѢ
 ХОВЪ. НИ СХОЖДАШЕ
 КНИ МОУ ВЕЛИКОДѢ
 НИКА СТРАНА И
 РАМАЛАНЕ. НИ КРАЩА
 ХОУ СЕ ВЪНѢ ОРАДА
 И ТРѢЩЕ ѿ НИГО. И
 СПОВѢДАЮЩЕ ГРѢХИ
 СВОИ. БѢЖЕ НИ ѿ АН
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 ВЕЛЪ БЛОУЖДАНІА
 ТАКОЖЕ ПИСАНИА
 СЛѢХЪ ЕГО. И ТА
 АКАНДЫ КАНИ
 ВНИ. И ТАКОЖЕ
 ШЕ ГАИ

But this Orthodoxy is not merely biblical. It does not fall into the protestant error of exalting the book, to the exclusion of the society whose book it is, or of creating a jealousy between the written and the living tradition. It honours and follows the tradition of the Church and its saints. Yet the Anglican, while doing the same, cannot but feel that the orthodox tradition is a somewhat stereotyped one. If, without criticizing or blaming, he enquires why this should be so, he soon sees that the reason of it lies to a considerable extent rooted in the origins of Russian Christianity. Russia originally accepted from Constantinople a very static tradition, and it has clung to it with magnificent tenacity ever since. Reforms have been continual in its history, as they have been needed; but there is no outstanding period of revulsion like that of the Reformation in the west. Orthodoxy, even if it should seem to some western eyes to be hidebound, had, at any rate, experienced no such codifying of theology as scholasticism; and consequently needed no revolt against scholasticism. It has known little of "progress," either in a good or a bad sense of that word. It has held on through thick and thin to what it received.

In the sphere of doctrine generally, we have already noted that what it received had already become very stereotyped. The breach with the West emphasized this characteristic. The complaint against Rome was that it had innovated; and therefore Orthodoxy was bound to pride itself upon its conservatism. Moreover, though it regarded the West as having lapsed into schism,

dox Doctrine of Platon, metropolitan of Moscow 1762, is to be found translated in Pinkerton, *Present State of the Church in Russia*, 1814. These are specifically Russian documents, of various more or less recent dates, which have considerable authority, and may be taken as representative. Behind them lie the Greek symbolical documents such as *The answers of the Patriarch Jeremiah to the Lutherans*, 1574-81, to be found in Greek in Mesoloras, *Συμβολικὴ* (Athens, 1883), pp. 124-264, and in a Russian translation by A. Nil (Moscow 1866); or the better known *Orthodox Confession* of Peter Mogila, Russian in origin but approved for universal orthodox use. See it in Greek in Kimmel, *Libri Symbolici*, pp. 56 and ff., or in Mesoloras *op. cit.* 377-487; and in English, edd. Overbeck and Robertson, London, 1898—a reprint of an earlier translation of 1772.

For a short estimate see Headlam, *Teaching of the Russian Church* (Eastern Church Association, 1897), or Birkbeck's *Essay in The Russian Church* (S.P.C.K. 1915).

it did not regard itself as capable of behaving alone with the full powers of the Church Universal after the schism. The western world might, if it willed, be so presumptuous as to claim to act for the whole Church, and ultimately almost ignore the East: and even go so far as to provide rival claimants from its own subjects for the eastern patriarchal thrones. It might call assemblies of its own "General Councils," and continue through them its policy of innovation. But Orthodoxy could not, and would not, do the same. For it, the only General Councils are those of the undivided Church, ending with the Second Nicene Council, seven in number and no more as yet. Whatever the East has decided since, though alone orthodox and valid, is not of the same calibre as what had been done previously. A certain rigidity in discipline, as well as in doctrinal definition, is therefore for Orthodoxy inevitable, things being as they are.

The same character of rigidity attaches also in its measure to smaller matters of organization and detail. A good example is found in the sphere of liturgy. In this sphere the first eight centuries of eastern worship had witnessed great and continual change. At certain points the East had borrowed from the West (as well as *vice versa*); and to a larger extent still it had adopted liturgical changes, as it worked out its own liturgical development. The older liturgical forms disappeared, and new ones took their place. The Byzantine rite superseded others. The Liturgy called after St. James made way for the two rites called after St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, just as in a smaller sphere the hymns of Romanos and the earlier poets made way in the ninth century for the compositions, often inferior, of the monks of the Studium, or of St. John Damascene. But in the tenth century crystallization took place here, as elsewhere. Consequently Russia received the crystallized forms, and was prone to believe them to be far more ancient and more inherently immutable than they were.

Another instance may be seen in monasticism, which, here as elsewhere, played an enormous part in the evangelization of the people, the civilization of the country and the development of its resources. Eastern monasticism too, before it was transported into Russia, had reached a point at which it was stereotyped. At several great centres, such as the monastery of St. Sabbas in Palestine, at Mount Athos in Greece, and in convents such as the Studium at Constantinople, the monastic life had been brought to a pitch of development which carried it a long way beyond the primitive cenobial life of Egypt in the fourth or fifth century, or the Cappadocian monasticism of which St. Basil was the main organizer. But the development had ceased. What Russia received, and what was so effective in Russia's history, was the copy of the Thebaid, of Jerusalem, of Athos, or of the Studium. Often in Russian history the earlier stages of the development were re-enacted. A hermit began his solitary life; followers gathered round him in their several cells; until once more it was necessary to organize the disciples in a common life, and the group of hermits became a monastery. This was so in the great Lavra at Kiev in the tenth century; it happened again in the great foundation of St. Sergei, the famous Troitski monastery near Moscow.

This foundation inaugurated the second great era of Russian monastic development, in the middle of the fourteenth century. Sergei belonged to a noble family, and was born at Rostov *c.* 1314. On his parents' death, he and his elder brother resigned their claim upon the inheritance to the youngest, and went out into the woods near Radonej. There they built cells, and a wooden church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The eldest brother turned to ordinary monastic life at Moscow, but Bartholomew persevered and was shorn as a monk by the Abbot Mitrophan, taking the name of Sergei. Round him there gathered by degrees other hermits, who prevailed upon him in 1354 to take priest's orders, and to

become their *Higumen* or abbot. The life was of the strictest. They were perpetually engaged in hard manual labour and prayer; and were often short of food and the barest necessities of life. Later, on the advice of the Patriarch who had heard the fame of Sergei's company, and with the blessing of the Metropolitan community life was introduced. To some this was a profitable development, but to others, who loved the solitude, it seemed burdensome. So Sergei and they retired to found a new establishment elsewhere. The Higumen himself, however, was necessary for the peace and government of the community; and his counsel was more and more widely sought by those in authority both in Church and State. He was thus drawn back into the current, and became, against his will, a prominent and influential person. The Metropolitan turned to him for advice, and wished him to be his successor. Stories of his sanctity, wonder-workings and power in prayer multiplied, as he passed into old age and died September 25th, 1392.

The Troitski Monastery, which he had founded, became the chief monastic centre attached to Moscow; and it helped in establishing the growing pre-eminence of that place as the new capital of Russia.¹ But further, it was the mother of a rapidly increasing family of daughters, which spread widely northwards and colonized the large unoccupied areas in that quarter with monks. In zeal and development the movement may be compared in some respects with the movement of Cluniac reform in western monasticism. There was the same resetting of the high standard, the same wide and rapid expansion. But, so far as constitution is concerned, the parallel does not hold. The highly centralized organization for holding all the monasteries together in one close federation under the mother house, which was characteristic of the French movement, finds no counterpart in the Russian movement. While the revival at Troitsa reenacted in the fourteenth century the stages of monastic

¹ The standard modern life of St. Sergei is that of Golubinski.

development which were first reached in the fourth and fifth centuries, it did not advance to any new stages.

Neither then, nor since, has Russia had any experience of such movements as those reforms and developments which are connected with the names of Cluny, Citeaux, La Grande Chartreuse, or La Trappe in western Benedictinism. Nor has it had any experience of the parallel line of development which organized congregations or convents of non-monastic clergy like the Canons Regular of the Augustinian Order, or their outcome the Premonstratensians. Still less has it witnessed the great modifications of the Religious Life which came with the establishment of the Friars, or again with the foundation of the Jesuits, or again with the development of modern congregations. All such schemes belong to the West, and they have superseded there the more primitive forms of the life of religion. It is the old forms that Russia has kept. The hermits continue in remote spots, and the wandering athletes aim at personal prodigies of self-denial and devotion. The "desert" exists as well as the well-tended monasteries, and it is peopled with the more ardent souls. The faithful go to consult the hermit in the "desert" or the stricter monk in the "Skit" as of old. Russian monasticism is thus rich in its variety but oriental and early in its character. St. Basil is its father, as he was also father of St. Benedict, to whom western monasticism looks as its father. Its models of the developed monastic life are those of the era immediately preceding Russia's own conversion, such as Mount Athos, the fortress of the monks in Greece, and the great monasteries of Palestine like St. Sabbas, or those of Constantinople which flourished in the eighth and ninth centuries.¹

¹ For further details about eastern monasticism see Fr. Robinson's *Monasticism in the Orthodox Churches* (London, 1916); for a vivid account of Mount Athos and its monasteries see Riley, *Athos, or the Mountain of the Monks* (London, 1887).

CHAPTER IV

ORTHODOX AND CATHOLIC

THE stable character of Russian Orthodoxy has stood it in good stead through the continuous warfare with Roman Catholicism, which it has been obliged to maintain, particularly upon its western frontier. The gradual definition of this frontier has already been described, and it has been observed that the Slavs did not uniformly settle down upon the same side of it. Moravia, Bohemia and Poland for example were Slav but Roman Catholic. Out of this situation there develops an endless series of difficulties, which continues even until now.

At the time of the christianization of Russia the break between East and West was not finally made. Intercommunion was still preserved, though the two halves regarded each other with great suspicion and with varying degrees of condemnation. The ostensible causes were for the most part of small intrinsic importance. Most of them concerned matters of discipline, about which two friendly Christian bodies could have easily agreed to differ. The one serious dogmatic difference—concerning the addition of the word *filioque* (and from the Son) to the Nicene Creed in describing the dogma of the Eternal Procession of the Holy Spirit—was a mistake due to inadvertence, and to a slightly different outlook upon the dogma, rather than a conscious or substantial disagreement. But, as is so often the case in controversy, the real differences were concealed beneath an overlayer of externals; and below these ostensible causes of difference lay a deep cleavage of views concerning the nature of the Church, the form

of its government, and the relation of the parts to the whole; on the one side the conception was federal and on the other papal.

Russia very naturally took over the Greek point of view, but was not allowed to do so without contest. The early legends of the christianization emphasize the competitive eagerness of the Westerns. When Vladimir turned from the Latin missionaries and went southwards for his Christianity, the chronicler tells of a mission from the Pope to him in the hour of his baptism at Kherson. He goes on to tell of two further invitations in 991 and 1000, both of which were declined.¹ The accounts are brief, and supporting evidence is lacking. But it is significant that at this point the first metropolitan (Leo) was writing his extant treatise against the Latins.²

There is little sign of further dealings³ before 1054 when the breach was permanently made, through the Roman sentence of excommunication published against Michael the Patriarch in Constantinople. Russia had no share of its own in the sad dealings, but naturally sided with Constantinople, when all was done. It is not very clear how far any immediate effect was produced in Russia; but it is significant that again we find the Russian metropolitan (George) writing a treatise against the Latins.

¹ The Nikonovski Chronicle is the source of information.

² See p. 15, note 1.

³ Thietmar of Merseburg in his Chronicle tells of Reinbern, a bishop in Prussia, being sent to accompany the daughter of Boleslav, King of Poland, when she married Sviatopolk, Vladimir's son (soon after 1000). The son rebelled against the father, and was imprisoned. Reinbern also was put in prison and there died; but there is no evidence to show that religious reasons caused this treatment (Thietmar, *Chron.* viii, 72=vii, 52 in *P.L.* cxxxix, 1401.). The policy of the Grand Princes towards the Latins had been one of toleration, and western merchants had their own churches of the Latin rite in Kiev, Novgorod and elsewhere (Philaret i, 95; Golub. I, ii, 813).

The idea that the Roman legates visited Russia on their way back from Constantinople in 1054 seems to be based on a corrupt reading in the Latin text of their report. See it in Baronius, *Annales*, anno 1054, § 2^o (vol. xvii, p. 91). For the whole subject see Golub. I, i, 588 ff.

Another curious point of contact of Vladimir with the western world deserves a passing notice. St. Bruno (or Boniface) of Querfurt undertook a mission to the heathen Pecheneg tribes, then settled on the steppes in the south. He passed through Kiev, and was befriended but discouraged from his enterprise by Vladimir. When he held firm

Two more dealings with the papacy are recorded before the century ends. A dispossessed prince, Iziaslav of Kiev, after seeking help in other directions, appealed to Gregory VII, and sent his son to Rome to ask for help, promising, according to Gregory's reply, to hold his kingdom as a gift from St. Peter at the Pope's hands. There is no further record of the legates whom the Pope sent (April, 1075), and in the end the prince recovered his position without papal assistance two years later.¹

In the second case the current flowed again in the former direction. The appeal comes from Rome to Kiev and from Gregory's rival the anti-pope, Clement III (c. 1084-9). He was a very pale court prelate as compared with the great Hildebrand, and his letter seems to have breathed a very much milder spirit, suggesting not submission but reunion. This policy may have been dictated by the situation, or it may have been a diplomatic attempt to succeed, where Gregory's recent attempt had been abortive. The reply of the Russian metropolitan John II to this letter is extant. It contains a courteous but firm exposition of the faults of Latinism, and the suggestion that any such approach

to the project, the Prince accompanied him two days' journey to the frontier, and there they parted. Bruno's farewell took the form of quoting Christ's charge to St. Peter to feed His sheep; and in reply to Vladimir's last warnings he replied, "God open paradise to thee, as thou hast opened the way for me to these barbarians." *Stetit ipse in uno, nos stetimus in alio colle. Amplexus manibus crucem Christi, ferebam cantans nobile carmen, Petre amas me? pasce oves meas. Finito responsorio misit Senior maiorem suum ad nos in haec verba* "Duxi te ubi mea desinit terra inimicorum incipit. Propter deum rogo, ad meum dedecus ne perdas invenem vitam. Scio cras ante tertiam, sine fructu, sine causa, debes gustare amaram mortem." Remisi "Aperiat tibi deus paradysum sicut nobis aperuisti viam ad paganos." Bruno had some success in his mission, but returned again westward, and was ultimately martyred in Prussia in 1009.

See his letter to the Emperor Henry II (1007) in Miklosich, *Slavisches Bibl.* ii, 307; or Bielowski, *Monumenta Polon. Hist.* i, 224. Also his life in Thietmar, *Cbron.* vi 58=vi, 34; and in *AA. SS.* February 14.

¹ The Papal letter is no. lxxiv of Bk. 2 (*P.L.* cxlviii, 425). The phrase quoted has a dubious flavour, and popes were apt to assume that their petitioners had promised to do what they wished them to do. It runs: *Filius vester, lumina apostolorum visitans, ad nos venit, et quod regnum illud dono sancti Petri per manus nostras vellet obtinere, eidem beato Petro apostolorum principi debita fidelitate exhibita, devotis precibus postulavit, indubitanter asseverans illam suam petitionem vestro consensu ratam fore stabilem.* A companion letter addressed to Boleslav, King of Poland, was probably carried by the same legates, but this makes no allusion to the affairs of Iziaslav beyond urging the King to return the money which he had taken from him.

had better be made to headquarters—the Patriarch and his Council in Constantinople.¹

Thus closes the first period of Russian relations with Rome, and beyond a slight reference by a chronicler to the sending of papal legates to Bogoliubski, probably after the refusal of Constantinople to grant him a metropolitan see of his own, there is nothing more recorded till the opening of the thirteenth century. But this does not mean that Latinism ceased to be a burning question for the Russian Church. All along the border the religious warfare was fairly continuous, and the spirit of it was embittered. On the northern part of the border the ill success of peaceful efforts at evangelization had led the Latins to the founding of Riga, and the establishment of a Military Order designed to accomplish the task. The Brothers of the Sword in 1202 began to treat the subjugation of Livonia as a Crusade. After 1238 they were incorporated in the larger Order of the Teutonic Knights which carried on the task. Some parts of this area were subject to the Prince of Polotsk. His people had so far made no effort to christianize these heathen. At first he was willing that the Latins should undertake the task. When, however, he saw them succeeding, he repented, and opposed the work of Knights. But he had not the power to resist successfully, and a painful rivalry developed.

Below the Baltic provinces lay the borderland of the country which was now beginning to be organized as the Kingdom of Lithuania. After a pretence of adopting Latin Christianity in 1250, the country lapsed into heathenism and hostility to the Teutonic Knights. It was, however, gradually penetrated by the Orthodox religion and the Russian civilization. So that, here

¹ The papal letter does not appear to be extant, and its contents must be deduced from the answer given. The reply is in Pavlov, *Polemic*, pp. 169–186. See Golub. I, i, 595, 856, and Phil. i, 97.

John says : *προσαγορεύεις γνησίως καὶ φιλικῶς καὶ ὑπερεύχῃ πνευματικῶς, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως, τῆς ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀμωμήτου διδάγματα ὑπεραποδέχῃ καὶ ἐκθειάζεις . . . καὶ δῶν ὁ . . . Θεὸς ἐπὶ σου καὶ τῶν σῶν ἡμέρων διόρθωσιν δέξασθαι τὰ μεταξύ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως ἀναφύοντα καὶ ἀνακύψαντα σκάνδαλα καὶ κωλύματα τῆς θείας ὁδοῦ.*

as elsewhere, the Slav became the victor in those respects, though beaten in politics and war. Meanwhile the pressure from the west did not cease; but with the beginning of the fourteenth century a border war of religion began in Lithuania, which continued with increasing force.

Long before this date the situation among the Polish Slavs had been troubled, and the religious situation in Poland wavered according as Slav or Teuton influence prevailed. But after Boleslav's death (1025) the Polish kingdom fell to pieces; it was till the end of the thirteenth century at the mercy of its own internal quarrels, as well as the inroads from the Tartars, and the steady pressure of growing Lithuania. Ecclesiastical warfare in such circumstances was only too easy.

Still further south, Galicia formed another Slav area of divided ecclesiastical obedience, while politically it belonged alternately to Orthodox Russians or Catholic Hungarians. When the thirteenth century began, the troubles in this region were at their height.

This is also the point at which a new period opens of direct relations between Rome and Russia. Innocent III was in the full flood of his successes. He had lately dealt successfully with the churches of Bulgaria and Serbia; and more recently there had occurred the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders and the seating of a subject of the papacy on the patriarchal throne (1204). For the moment the Russian Church seemed to be the only stronghold of Orthodoxy which remained unsubdued. Accordingly Innocent designed that the legate whom he was sending to Hungary (Oct. 1207) should also go on to Russia, and receive its submission. An argumentative letter was therefore addressed to the clergy and laity of Ruthenia, exhorting the alienated children to return to their mother's bosom.

Now that the Greek Empire and Church has returned almost entirely to a state of devotion to the apostolic see, humbly receives its commands and obeys its orders, does it not seem unfitting that the part should not agree with its whole, and the detail should differ from its universal?

But the letter seems never to have arrived, and nothing further is heard of the matter.

Twenty years later Honorius III repeated the manœuvre in a letter addressed to the Kings of Russia, rejoicing over their alleged desire "to be soundly instructed in wholesome doctrine," and promising to send at their request a legate to set them in the right way. But all again was abortive.

Nor was Kiev likely to take a kindly view of the matter. It was at the moment making its first acquaintance with the new-founded zeal of the Dominicans; and the initial success of their propaganda was such that it raised fresh hopes in Rome. A fresh letter of argument and appeal came from Gregory IX to the Grand Prince. The friars seem to have come ostensibly to serve the Latin churches, which the Russian spirit of toleration had long sanctioned on behalf of foreign merchants. But evidently trouble arose when the friars stepped outside this privileged area, and they were ejected from Kiev in 1233.¹

During the period of Tartar oppression the Russian principalities were no longer of sufficient importance to attract the same attention as previously in the West. The days of Vladimir, of Yaroslav, and Andrew Bogoliubski were over, and popes had little incentive to reopen the question of submission. In the view of the West, Russia was a country to be conquered through extending the border of Latin Christianity eastward by force of arms. Consequently the Danes and the Swedes are now being encouraged, as well as the Knights, in their campaigns or crusades against Russia, which is treated as a heathen country. While, on the contrary, the Russian heroes who defend their land successfully, like Alexander Nevski of Novgorod, or the Lithuanian

¹ Innocent's letters are nos. 137, 138 of Book x (*P.L.* ccxv, 1231-4). The letter of Honorius (Potthast, *Regesta*, 7562) is (like those of Gregory above mentioned) included in Turgenev, *Historica Russiæ Monumenta*, no. xxi; (i, 20), also in Raynaldus, *Annales*, xx, 528. For letters of Gregory see Turg. no. xxxiii (i, 30), and the *Regesta* 8765. Raynald. xxi, 44.

See further in Golub. I, i, 599; ii, 808.

Dovmont, who became Prince of Pskov, are defenders of the faith no less than of the country, and heroes of the Church as well as of the people. Alexander, indeed, after his defeat of the Swedes at the battle of the Neva (1240), and of the Knights two years later at Lake Chud, was distinguished enough to receive a fresh invitation from the Pope. It was as unsuccessful as the rest, though it adopted a friendly, not to say alluring, tone, and was based upon a report, sent by the Franciscan traveller Pian de Carpine, that Alexander's father had submitted to Rome before his death.¹

In the middle of the fourteenth century as a relief from warfare we meet in this area with the opening of a fresh campaign and a new kind of ecclesiastical contest (1348).

Magnus King of the Swedes sent to the men of Novgorod, saying, "Send your philosophers to a conference, and I will send my philosophers, that they may discuss about faith. They will ascertain whose faith is the better. If your faith is the better, then I will go into your faith; but if our faith is the better, you will go into our faith: and we shall all be as one man. But if you do not agree to uniformity, then I will come against you with all my forces." And the Bishop Vasili . . . and all the men of Novgorod, having taken counsel together, replied to Magnus: "If thou desirest to know whose is the better faith, ours or yours, send to Constantinople to the Patriarch. For we received the Orthodox faith from the Greeks; but with thee we will not dispute about the faith."

But after this pacific failure, the recourse was had, as usual, to arms.

Magnus came up against the town (Orekhov) with his whole force, and began baptizing the Izhera people into his own faith; and let loose his troops among those who refused baptism. Hearing that the King had turned his force on the Izhera people, the men of Novgorod sent Ontsifor Lukinits, Yacov Khotov, and Mikhail Feofilaktov against them with a small company; and through the prayers of the Holy Mother of God and with the help of St. Sophia, and of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb, God aided Ontsifor. They killed 500, and others they took alive, and executed the traitors. And the men of Novgorod returned, all well, having lost only three men.

¹ Innocent IV to Alexander (*Regesta*, 12815), January 23rd, 1248; in Turg., *Hist. Russiae Mon.* lxxviii. (i, 68). Rayn. xxi, 374. See Golub. II, 87. For Gian di Pian de Carpine see Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. i, and Hakl. Soc. Publicns. 2nd series, vol. 4 (1900), *Journey of William of Rubruck* . . .

This must serve as a specimen picture of the frontier warfare in all its crudity.¹

We turn again to Lithuania to observe the development of the border warfare there in the fourteenth century. After Gedimin (1315-42) had set up a strong centralized Lithuanian principality, a fresh attempt was made by John XXII, in 1324, to secure the submission of the country to the Roman see and to bring in Russia as well.² This failed, and when Gedimin died, his country fell at his death to his two sons Keistut and Olgierd. The first carried on the old pagan tradition, while the second favoured Russia and Orthodoxy; and he eventually received Orthodox baptism. Olgierd pushed his boundaries across the south-eastern steppes as far as the Black Sea. Almost throughout eastern and southern Lithuania the eastern views of religion prevailed, but a treaty with Poland made in 1325 symbolizes a westward tendency. Thus the country was divided. But the Orthodox cause received a great blow when Olgierd's son Yagiello who had succeeded him in 1377, went over to the Latin side, was baptized afresh, and married to the young Queen Hedwig of Poland (1386). The fuller consequences of this will appear later.

We turn further south to Galicia. Here the Tartar pressure was more keenly felt; and in the first stress of it the Grand Prince Daniel looked westward for help, and turned to Rome and Catholic neighbours as affording his only chance of aid against the invader. The Grand Prince was evidently led by other motives as well as the desire to get western help. Apparently he wished also to secure his land against Christian assault from the Crusaders as well as Tartar assault. And there seems to have been mixed with such motives the ambition to be a crowned King like his neighbours of Poland and Hungary. The course of events is mainly known from

¹ *Novgorod Chronicle*, pp 141, 142.

² See Turg. ci, ciii-cxi. The documents are full, and no. ciii in particular contains an interesting summary of the doctrine that is to be taught.

the papal documents, which, as we have already seen, were apt in such cases to misrepresent the pope's correspondent. According to them, the Grand Prince sent an envoy with a petition, in response to which the Pope took him and his land under the protection of the Holy See and sent him two Dominicans as envoys. The Grand Prince despatched a messenger in return and promised the submission of himself and his land, but with the stipulation that the use of leavened bread and other Greek ceremonies should be retained. The stipulation was accepted by the Pope with regard to leavened bread and "other rites which are not contrary to the Catholic Faith which the Roman Church holds" (1247); and the Archbishop of Prussia was empowered as legate to go and complete the reconciliation. But the negotiations hung fire, for this was not the kind of help that Daniel needed. Intercourse, however, did not cease. In 1248 the Pope (Innocent) was, as we have seen, making a further attempt with Alexander Nevski as well. When that had failed he turned to Galicia again, and went on in 1253 to dangle a crown before Daniel's eyes, sending it by Opizo, his legate in Poland. Daniel was again caught on the hook, and hovered. Ultimately he was persuaded to accept it, for Opizo was engaged in raising a crusade against the Tartar; and Galicia, by thus standing in with its Latin neighbours, would get the help that it needed, and for which apparently Daniel had recently made a second appeal.

The submission was thorough as far as it went: Daniel was baptized, swore allegiance to the Roman Church, was anointed and crowned. This we learn from a bull of Alexander IV issued in 1257 threatening censures against the King for not having kept his oath; but there the matter ends with Daniel's repudiation of everything except the crown.¹

¹ The chief documents are in *Hist. Russ. Mon.* lxii, lxxvii, xcv, and the crucial ones are also in Raynaldus, *Annales*, under the years 1246-8, 1253 and 1257. Pian de Carpine also had a hand in this affair; see his account in *Journey of William of Rubruck*, etc p. 31.

The Russian Chronicle (Ipatievski) tells of the coronation (1254 and 1255); see

A century later Galicia suffered for this. With the beginning of the fourteenth century Poland began to recover its unity and its position under Vladislav I (1306-1333); and in the days of his able son and successor Casimir III (1333-1370) Galicia became for the most part merged in the Polish kingdom. There followed a strenuous effort at Latinization, and the country became more than ever the arena of a perpetual religious rivalry. This was not lessened by the union of Lithuania with Poland through Yagiello's marriage with Casimir's grand-niece and successor (1386), for Lithuania was thus secured for the Catholics. The long and successful reign of Yagiello (to 1434), under his new title of Vladislav II, over the joint states, with the co-operation of his cousin Vitovt as Grand Prince of Lithuania, brought the western Slavs under a new unit in eastern Europe, which was unflinchingly Latin. It steadily pushed the frontier eastwards by more skilful and successful methods than the brutal and blustering ways of the Teutonic Knights. When Vladislav and Vitovt were gone, the two states soon were again united under the second son of Vladislav, Casimir IV (1447-1492); beneath his strong hand the policy continued, and Catholic Slavdom was inviolable.

The difficulty of the situation from the Orthodox point of view may be illustrated by the history of Kiev, the very cradle of Russian Orthodoxy. It fell in 1240 under Tartar rule; and when it was recovered for Europe, the restorer was not a Russian Grand Prince, but Gedimin, the non-Christian Prince of Lithuania. Under Lithuania it remained for 250 years. In the early part of the time the government had been still non-Christian; then it had favoured Orthodoxy; but from 1386 onwards it was under the new Catholic convert Yagiello or his cousin Vitovt, a more cautious

Pharph. i, 232. It gives some additional details, but omits all reference to the baptism and the oath. The project of *Unia* is not mentioned in the second stage of the proceedings; but the chronicler mentions that this was an attack on Orthodoxy and that Innocent was contemplating a council for the reunion of the Church. A further attempt seems to have been made unsuccessfully in 1309. See Colub. II, i, 81 ff; 132.

and conciliatory, but equally convinced, Catholic. Nor was the case of Kiev any different when Lithuania formed a constituent part of Poland (1569-1654), for it was still under proselytizing Catholic rule.

The fate of Kiev was tragic. The force of Tartar attack had in the first instance overthrown the metropolitan throne, and the existing metropolitan disappeared. Cyril, who was appointed to succeed him, spent his long episcopate as a wanderer (1242-1281); and he was the last of the original series of metropolitans to be buried there. His successor Maxim (1283-1305) settled in 1299 at Vladimir, which was then the seat of the Grand Prince. When the court was moving finally to Moscow the metropolitan anticipated the move; and there Peter, the next metropolitan, was buried in 1326.¹

He was followed by Theognost (1328-1353) and Alexis (1354-1378), who continued to take their title as metropolitans of All Russia, keeping Kiev as their original see. But the position was an anomalous one. It is not surprising that Galicia and the rising Principality of Lithuania felt the anomaly, and each in turn tried to obtain a local metropolitan of its own. Throughout the greater part of the fourteenth century these attempts were made with varying success, but with uniform opposition from the Metropolitan in the north.²

¹ Moscow up till this point had been quite inconspicuous. It is first mentioned by the chronicler in 1147 as forming part of the territory of the Prince of Suzdal. Tradition says that the place came into the Prince's hands from the Kuchkov family, and that he, Yuri Vladimirovich, was the founder of the town, building a fortress on the site hemmed in between the two rivers—the Moskva and the Neglnai. It was burnt by the Tartars in 1238, but recovered its position as an apanage when Alexander Nevski established his younger son Daniel there. Daniel's son Yuri succeeded him in 1304. He became Grand Prince at Vladimir in 1318; and his four years of supreme rule no doubt brought Moscow into special prominence. Consequently when his brother and successor John (1325) became also his successor as Grand Prince (1328), the court was transferred by him to Moscow. The metropolitan Peter had lived not at Vladimir, but at Pereaslavl, since he had been disowned from the first by the Grand Prince; thus he was attracted to the opposite party, i.e. to Yuri, to John, and to Moscow. When they superseded their rivals on the throne of the Grand Prince, the success of Moscow, both political and ecclesiastical, was naturally assured; and it superseded Vladimir in both respects. See Golub. II, i, 133 ff.

² Already, at least as early as 1305, the question had arisen of the division of the country into two ecclesiastical provinces. The Grand Prince of Vladimir then sent Geronti to Constantinople to be successor of Maxim, who had recently died. He was confronted there with Peter, whom the Grand Prince of Galicia had sent to be made a separate

In 1354, when Alexis became the Russian metropolitan, he obtained formal sanction for the transfer of the see, which had taken place, from Kiev to Vladimir, and also a recognition that his claim over Kiev still held good.¹ But what the Patriarch seemed to give with one hand he took away with the other; for, ejecting an unauthorized pretender, he set up Roman as metropolitan of Lithuania; and a long quarrel ensued which was only ended by Roman's death in 1361. It was renewed again, after a ten years' interval, by the appointment of Antoni as metropolitan of Galicia (1371) for the territory now subject to the King of Poland; and still more by the appointment of Cyprian (1375) to be metropolitan for a Lithuanian province, with some further claim to be called Metropolitan of All Russia, though Alexis was still alive. At his death (1378) this claim was pressed, and there was much resistance in Moscow to the acceptance of Cyprian; but ultimately he was accepted, and he continued without a rival till 1406. He showed himself a very worthy representative of All Russia. In the earlier days when Moscow was hostile to his claim he lived in Kiev, and there he won the respect and allegiance of the Orthodox Slavs, who were outside Russian territory. Moreover he did not forfeit this position when later on he gained the adherence of Moscow.

metropolitan for Galicia. The Patriarch declined the division and the candidate from the north, and sent Peter back to be still metropolitan of All Russia. There are even some shadowy signs of an earlier effort still, which was successful, and of a shadowy Niphont appointed by Constantinople for Galicia in 1303, *i.e.* shortly after Maxim had definitely left Kiev for Vladimir. If there is any substance in this shadow, it would follow that Peter was intended to be the successor of Niphont; and also that Constantinople, in sending Peter to be the successor of Maxim at Vladimir, had changed its mind as to the desirability of a second metropolitan.

The next attempt had been made by Lithuania in the course of the organization of that territory by Gedimin, and Constantinople approved of Theophilus as Lithuanian metropolitan (1316). He seems to have occupied a new see at Novogrudka. This plan appears not to have lasted much more than a decade, for Peter's successor at Moscow—Theognost—seems to have procured the suppression of the rival metropolitan see. Further attempts had also been made in 1331 and 1337.

See Golub. II, i, 96, 125, 147, 153, 157; and for the later events 179-185, 190-2, 206 and ff.

¹ See the documents in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta Patriarchatus Const.* i, 336, 351. Other documents follow bearing on the later stages of the controversy about Little Russia: *ibid.* 425, 434; 516 and ff; 582 and ff; and ii, 12, 98.

But meanwhile a considerable change had come over Lithuania. As has already been mentioned, it passed under a Catholic ruler, and became closely allied with Poland in 1386 at the marriage of Yagiello with the Polish Queen. Already, too, Poland, under the new queen's great uncle, Casimir III (1333-1370), had been extending eastwards so as to incorporate the greater part of Galicia. Consequently an energetic forward move had been made by the Latin propaganda; and Gregory XI (1370-1378) had created a new piece of Catholic organization by founding sees at Peremysl, Kholm, Vladimir-in-Volynia and Lvov. As long as Cyprian was metropolitan such efforts had little effect. Galician and Lithuanian Orthodoxy were firmly united with Moscow. But at Cyprian's death (1406) it became an obvious part of Lithuanian policy to destroy this unity, by establishing again a rival Orthodox metropolitan, who would be more amenable to pressure, and less able to protect the Orthodox from the Latinizing policy of the government.¹ Consequently, both while Vitovt was Prince (1392-1430), and also in the days of his successor Svidrigailo, various fresh attempts were made to set up a metropolitan at Kiev, and to utilize him for the purpose of propagating a Latin brand of church reunion. For a time they all broke down in one way or another.² At last, however, an opportunity occurred which seemed to promise to the Latin party success on a very much larger scale.

¹ See the account of Cyprian in Golub. II, i, esp. 334 and ff.

² The first attempt was made as soon as Cyprian died; but the Patriarch refused to accept Vitovt's nominee Theodosi, or to entertain the idea of a separate metropolitan (1408). Some years later, after Photius the new metropolitan of Moscow had fallen out with Vitovt, the latter returned to the charge, and sent Gregory Tsamblak to Constantinople to be appointed his metropolitan. This plan was refused; but on Gregory's return to Vitovt he was appointed nevertheless in spite of both the Patriarch and Photius (1415), and he held the position till his death four years later. In the interval Vitovt sent him to the Council of Constance, perhaps in the hope that he might be a convert to the Latin party. But if that was his hope, it was disappointed, for Gregory returned unconvinced when the Council ended in 1418. At his death Lithuania returned to the obedience of Moscow. When Photius also was dead, Vitovt's successor Svidrigailo reverted to the idea, and sent Gregory of Smolensk to Constantinople to be made metropolitan (of Lithuania) (1432). But this attempt failed like the rest.

See Golub. II, i, 374-386, 416.

For a long time there had been a movement in the East in favour of reunion with the West. It was based on a false estimate of the possible terms of such a reunion, and it was sharpened everywhere, in Constantinople pre-eminently, by the sense of imminent danger. The Turk and the Tartar had become, in this sense, the ecclesiastical allies of the Papacy. Metropolitan Cyprian had joined with Yagiello (1397) in an appeal to the Patriarch of Constantinople, pressing for a Council to be called in Russia with a view to reunion. But the Patriarch replied that circumstances were not favourable. Similar thoughts were also perhaps in the mind of Gregory Tsamblak when he attended the Council of Constance at the instance of his Catholic prince, Vitovt of Lithuania.

Such events as these, on the eastern side, correspond with much eagerness for the cause of reunion that was being manifested in various shapes in the West. The Council of Basle (1431-43), no doubt, was making matters more difficult by the deep cleavage of opinion among western doctors which it revealed and accentuated. But that Council declined in credit; and as it did so, Eugenius IV (1431) undertook to call a new Council, which should be held in Italy, to complete the discredit of the fathers of Basle, to re-establish the papacy as supreme over the council, and to meet the growing desires of the Greeks for ecclesiastical reunion and thereafter for western aid in beating back the Turk.

In Russia the metropolitan see was vacant through the death of Photius (1431). A successor in the person of Jonah was chosen at Moscow in the course of the next year, but he delayed his departure for Constantinople to seek the Patriarch's approval till 1434. Meanwhile preparations were going forward there for the Council which was now definitely summoned to meet at Ferrara. The Patriarch, anxious that there should be a suitable Russian metropolitan to take part in it, of his own motion appointed Isidore, a Greek, and higumen of the Monastery of St. Demetrius, to the post shortly

before Jonah arrived with his claim from Russia. Isidore had already had a share in the Council of Basle, and since his return had been occupied with the new preparations; he was bent upon the coming Council.

He arrived in Moscow (April 1437) to find the Grand Prince and people well disposed to the proposal, for they thought apparently, like the rest of the Easterns, that they were going to obtain help for their need from the West, and to obtain it on their own terms by prevailing upon the Latins to renounce their errors.¹ He made his way slowly through northern Russia to Riga, sailed thence to Lübeck, and journeyed on to Ferrara, to find that the much delayed proceedings were only just beginning (August 1438). In the earlier discussions at Ferrara and Florence from January 1439 onwards, he was not conspicuous; but they seem to have convinced him of the necessity of union on the Latin terms. Thenceforward he, followed by Bessarion, was the chief agent of the Greek Emperor, the most ardent promoter among the Easterns of the Council's scheme of union, and the chief antagonist of Mark of Ephesus, the Orthodox protagonist. An important utterance of his seems to show what was in his mind at this juncture.

It is better to join the Latins, heart and soul, than to return without accomplishing anything. To return, of course, is possible; but how and when and whither?

To him, as also to the Patriarch and the Emperor, there seemed no other prospect open; and he signed the Act of Union with an expression of hearty assent, thus: *στέργων καὶ συναινῶν ὑπέγραψα*.²

The Pope created him a Cardinal, and appointed him his legate *de latere* to propagate the *Unia* throughout Lithuania, Livonia, All Russia and Poland.³ So he

¹ The account of Isidore's first visit to Moscow as given by the Russian chronicler is much coloured by the feelings engendered by the subsequent events. See Golub. II, i, 428-431.

² For a Russian account of the Council in English see Popoff, *History of the Council of Florence* (ed. J. M. Neale, London, 1861). A Roman Catholic account of all these affairs, and in particular of Isidore, is to be found in Book I of Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*.

³ The bull is in Turg. no. cxxi. (i, 120).

started on his homeward journey, delaying a long time in the intermediate countries, perhaps with the hope that Russia would spend the interval in getting accustomed to the idea of Union and be the more ready to welcome its metropolitan clad in Roman purple.

The chronicler gives a dramatic account of his doings at Moscow, describing his entry into the city as Cardinal-legate preceded by a Latin cross (March 1441); the liturgy which he performed in the Uspenski church; the consternation that fell on all the assembly when he read out the name of Pope Eugenius before that of the Patriarch of Constantinople; the horror when, at the end of the liturgy, his protodeacon read from the ambo the Florentine Act of Union. It is difficult to know how much of this is authentic. Moscow must have known already what to expect; for nearly two years had passed, and Isidore's companions had arrived home long before, including Bishop Abraham of Suzdal who was said to have signed the Act of Union only unwillingly.

At any rate, on the fourth day after his arrival Isidore was arrested. He was condemned and deposed by a Council and shut up in the Chudov Monastery. In September he escaped impenitent, and fled. Tver was no more friendly to him than Moscow, nor would even Lithuania accept him. So he made his way to Rome. There finally he ended his days (1463) as a Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, which he had never seen since the day when, ten years before, he fled at the capture of the imperial city.

Isidore's fiasco in no way ended the troubles of Kiev and the Orthodox subjects of Lithuania and Poland. From Rome he secured that the Pope should send Gregory, a pupil of his own, as Uniat Metropolitan to claim the see of Kiev, while he probably in theory maintained his own claim upon the eastern part of his late area (1458). From Moscow the Grand Prince and the new metropolitan Jonah did their best to defeat this move. In spite of their opposition, the Lithuanian Prince established Gregory at Kiev, and by way of reply to

the protests of Moscow, sent a request asking that he should be recognized there also in place of Jonah, who had recently been set up in Isidore's room by the Russian bishops without reference to the hovering Constantinople. From this situation two things developed. First that Gregory himself renounced the uniat position (1470) and was accepted as Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev; and secondly that the successors of Jonah (1461†) acquiesced in the division of the area, and took for themselves the title of "Moscow and All Russia." So Kiev saw a new series of metropolitans running parallel with the old line which henceforward continued at Moscow. The double series went on, indeed, until the end of the sixteenth century. The Lithuanian metropolitans, however, were not allowed to live at Kiev, but maintained a harassed and precarious existence, for the most part at Vilna, near the Russian border.

CHAPTER V

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE CIVIL POWER

IN the early stages of Russian Christianity, as has already been observed, the civil rule was divided up among a number of princes, but there was a complete ecclesiastical unity. We now have to consider the mutual relationship of the ecclesiastical and the civil jurisdictions. In each centre the Bishop stands by the side of the Prince, and in some cases indeed the Bishop's tenure in his see is more secure than that of the Prince in his anapage.

At intervals this difficult and perennial problem of the relation between the civil and the ecclesiastical power was raised and became acute in one or another place. But at first the difficulty was local and inconsiderable. The bishop, through his fellowship with the Church outside his own area, was likely to be stronger than the prince in his comparatively isolated and temporary position. So civil pressure upon him was discounted. But as the political organization of Russia unified, the balance of power tended to alter. The Metropolitan moved with the suzerainty of the Grand Prince from Kiev to Vladimir, and then to Moscow, in the days of the Mongol domination ; and he suffered less from that domination than did the Grand Prince. But the Tartar power waned in the fifteenth century, and the Grand Prince's power began to grow. A larger and larger part of Slavdom was unified under his rule. The Metropolitan's authority, however, did not grow in at all the same measure.

Ever since the main centre of the House of Rurik had been transferred to Moscow, consolidation had been going on round it as nucleus. But it is important to realize how small as yet, in the midst of the

fifteenth century, was the area of Muscovite rule. The northern part of Russia in Europe, as we know it to-day, formed the great territory of the republic of Novgorod. A broad western strip, lying to the east of what we now regard as Poland, was in Lithuanian hands, and generally united with the Polish kingdom. Southward the whole area of the steppes, extending to the Black Sea and the Caspian, was still the unsettled country of nomad races, and subject to the Tartars of the Crimea and the Lower Volga. Eastward lay the Tartar Khanate of Kazan, and north-eastward lay the autonomous tribes of Perm, together with other tribes more or less subject to the Tartars of Kazan.

Moscow constituted a little nucleus in the middle of what we now regard as Russia. The Grand Prince had but to travel some sixty or seventy miles from Moscow to the north, south, or west, to find himself in enemy country. Moreover, this central nucleus was not wholly his. In it lay some principalities that were independent, and some that were Muscovite apanages. In the first half of the fifteenth century Basil II (1425-62) had suffered from many weakening misfortunes, and had been able to make only a little way against Tartar, Lithuanian, or fellow Slav; but with the accession of Ivan III in 1462 the process of consolidation went on more rapidly, and it continued through the days of his son Basil IV. In these two reigns the Muscovite territory increased from 15,000 to 40,000 square miles.

The causes of this transformation were chiefly three. First, within the Moscow suzerainty the apanages were so greatly reduced that the Suzerain became practically their master. Second, religion played its part, especially on the western side; for the Slav and Orthodox areas, revolting against the Roman Catholic policy of Lithuania, were ready to cast in their lot with Moscow. Thirdly, there was joined with this the sense of nationality; for the consolidation was practically the welding together of the peoples of Great Russia. The methods were also chiefly three: (i) the voluntary

surrender of principalities to Muscovite central rule (ii) an annexation, forcible but uncontested, (iii) or else conquest by force of arms.

At the end of the process the Muscovite ruler found himself the one surviving Orthodox Slav Prince.¹

Already even at the beginning of his time Ivan III seems to have had a foresight of what circumstances demanded, and of what he could accomplish. The Council of Florence and the fiasco of Isidore had a national as well as an ecclesiastical import. They mark the point at which Russia was drawn out of its isolation, and obliged to begin to take a place in Europe. The consolidation at home also led to the same conclusion; for Moscow, when it had absorbed all the Great Russian stock, found its newly enlarged area surrounded no longer by kindred principalities or commonwealths, but by alien governments. It was bound, therefore, to develop, in a new sense, a foreign policy—concerned with Lithuania, Livonia and the Teutonic Knights, Sweden, Denmark and the rest.

Correspondingly there develops from within a new feature—a national self-consciousness, which before long must need to express itself in outward forms. Muscovy is developing into Russia, a principality is becoming an empire, and a Grand Prince is growing into a Tsar.

The Florentine projects had a further result. They discredited Constantinople in Russian eyes. For though Isidore had been unsuccessful in proclaiming the Florentine plan of *Unia* in Moscow in 1440 as metropolitan, yet he was at last successful, after many hitches, in proclaiming it in Constantinople (December 12, 1452). The interval had been marked by declining confidence, and Moscow had filled Isidore's place by electing Jonah without reference to Constantinople (1448). Further, the definite acceptance of the *Unia*, which took place there, was a blow to the Russian belief in the soundness of Constantinople, from which it never recovered.

¹ For the detailed account of this development see Kliuch. II, ch. i.; and for a table of the last part of the Rurik dynasty, see p. 190.

The Fall of Constantinople six months later seemed to the Russian churchman the inevitable and just retribution due to such apostasy. Even the extinction of the *Unia* later on did not wipe out the impression.¹ The Russian Church came to a new stage of self-consciousness, for it felt that thenceforward the future of Orthodox Christianity must mainly depend not upon Constantinople but upon Moscow.

The Fall of Constantinople was further significant for Russia, because it roughly coincided with the lifting of the Mongol yoke. As the possibilities of the emancipation of the Russian states grew up, and were by degrees realized, there developed also a new and further ideal concerning the part that, in the providence of God, Russia was intended to take. It is indeed nothing short of providential that, when the great Christian empire that had braved so many storms, and been the bulwark of civilization and Christianity, at last fell before the Turk and the Crescent, there should be a new Christian empire arising further north to take up the rôle which Constantinople had so long and so successfully sustained, to shield Europe from the barbarian, and to carry the banners of the Cross in victory across the whole breadth of Asia.

Two external symbols denote the transition—a matrimonial alliance and a set of titles. Only recently the imperial house of the Palaeologoi and the house of Rurik had been again linked by a marriage. Some thirty years before the great catastrophe John VIII had married Anna, the sister of the Grand Prince Basil II. But the

¹ The Patriarch Joseph II died in 1439 during the Council of Florence. His successor Metrophanes, a supporter of the *Unia*, lasted only three years, which were followed by a long vacancy. At the end of it Gregory Mammas became Patriarch (1445 or 1446), who had been at Florence and was an adherent of the *Unia*; but he maintained his position against the Orthodox with difficulty and fled in 1450 to Rome, whence all the appeals of the Emperor never induced him to return. After his flight the disorders continued down to the capture of Constantinople, and there was no successor unless it was possibly an almost unknown and untraceable Athanasius.

After the capture there was no more question of any survival of the *Unia* at Constantinople. When Mahomet sanctioned the election of Gennadius, probably in 1454, the Byzantine Christian world was put under his rule.

See Lebediev, vii, 290-295; viii, 199-221.

bride was a child, who died before she was grown up, and so the link was ineffective. After the catastrophe, the imperial house was represented by John, the brother of the late Emperor Constantine, and by his family. John took refuge in Rome and died there in 1465, leaving two sons and daughters to the care of the Roman Church, and of Cardinal Bessarion. They were brought up, therefore, as the offspring of the *Unia* of Florence. After several negotiations concerning a marriage for Zoe, the daughter, had proved unsuccessful, an offer suddenly and mysteriously came from an unexpected quarter. Ivan III of Moscow had lost his first wife (1467), who had borne him a single son. He was thereupon anxious to renew, in the days of downfall, that alliance with the imperial family which had come to nothing in the earlier and happier days.¹

Rome saw in the project an opportunity for extending the *Unia* to Russia. So Zoe was married to Ivan by proxy in St. Peter's on June 1, 1472; and before the month was over she was on her way to her new home, with a dowry given to her by the Pope, and with the Bishop of Accia to act as her escort and as papal legate *de latere*. But alas for this exemplification of the Florentine *Unia*! At Pskov the legate offended the Orthodox by his Latin pomp and his refusal to show the ordinary Orthodox signs of devotion. The bride protested and cast in her lot with the Orthodox. Zoe turned into Sophia (as Saul turned into Paul), the Uniat into the Orthodox; and thus her coming to Moscow fulfilled not the hopes of the Latins, but the aspirations of the Russian people, both national and ecclesiastical. They had a new ground for regarding themselves as the inheritors of the imperial and Orthodox tradition of Constantinople.

¹ As time went on, the claims of this Zoe to be the representative and legatee of the imperial house increased. For her younger brother Manuel went to Constantinople in 1476 and became a pensioner of the Sultan. Her elder brother Andrew, after trafficking for some time in imperial patents of nobility and the like, sold all his rights to the King of France in 1494, and left them notwithstanding at his death in 1502 to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

For a full account of Zoe and her brothers see Piercing, vol. i, book 2.

The extension of Muscovite rule was due not only to the consolidation of Russian units, but also to conquest of the Tartars—a long process, which was chiefly distributed over the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first half of the century following. The inspiration necessary for this great effort is said to have been contributed in the earlier years to a considerable degree by Sophia herself. Indeed her influence on her husband and his court may probably be traced through a great many stages of the rising ascendancy and of the gradual advance in the titles and style adopted by the Muscovite ruler. The title *Lord of All Russia* began in domestic documents; but after some probation there it emerged into the documents of foreign intercourse during some dealings with Lithuania (1494). Even earlier than this the title of “Tsar”—that is Cæsar, or Emperor—had been tried on, and found fitting—first during some dealings with the German Knights. The title “autocrat” was also brought into public use first at home, and then in international documents. Before the end of the fifteenth century the new claimant to imperial honours had adopted as his own the Byzantine crest of the double-headed eagle. The claim to an imperial position then only needed one further assertion, *viz.*, the solemnities of a solemn coronation. This was begun when Dmitri, Ivàn’s grandson, was crowned as his partner and successor in 1498.¹ Thereafter it may be said that the claim of Moscow to be the imperial successor of Constantinople was fully formulated, and consecrated too by the solemn action of the Church.

It must, however, be remembered that these titles represented not so much the relation of the ruler to the ruled, as his relation to neighbouring rulers. The “autocracy” implied that the Tsar was no longer tributary to any outside power, not that he had, as yet,

¹ The definitive and final adoption of the titles belongs to a rather later date, for it seems to follow the definitive and full coronation ceremony performed when Ivan IV took the burden of government on his own shoulders in 1547.

For the form of Dmitri’s Coronation see Herberstein, i, 39–45.

reduced his own people to an implicit obedience to his personal will and unconditional government.

The meaning of this development was graphically shown in the new buildings that were rising in the central fortress of the Kremlin at Moscow. The existing groups of palaces, churches, and monasteries therein contained were not adequate for the new aspirations, nor for a daughter of Constantinople who had been brought up in Italy. Realizing this, Ivan sent the first Russian envoy to the west, Simon Tolbuzin, who brought back with him in 1475 the famous Italian architect Fioraventi. The mean buildings and the failures of the old régime disappeared, and there rose instead more stately palaces and churches. A new style arose from the blending of Italian art with the traditions of old Russia, partly Byzantine and partly Norse. The Uspenski (Assumption) Church in the Kremlin still testifies to Fioraventi's genius (1479). With it are grouped the Church of St. Michael, the work of Alvisi (1508), and the Church of the Annunciation, built by Alvisi in conjunction with Solari. Round the Kremlin stand the picturesque walls and imposing gates which are also the work of the same group of Italians (1485-1516). The whole bears witness to the first stage of Russia's determination to take up its position on the European stage.¹

The advance thus symbolized was great, but the Muscovite could hardly think it complete as long as so many Orthodox and Slavs were under the rule of Lithuania; and while Kiev itself, the cradle of Russian Christianity, was in alien hands, Church and State alike were bound to work unceasingly for the recovery of what had been lost.

An opportunity presented itself to Ivan in 1492. Then, on the death of the great Casimir IV, Poland and Lithuania fell apart, becoming the respective portions of

¹ For further details see Pierling, i, 200 and ff. The second part of vol. ii, of Golubinski, which should have dealt fully with the architectural development has never appeared. For a fully illustrated history of the Kremlin as a fortress see Barteniev.

two of his sons, and Alexander became Grand Prince of Lithuania. War was going on as usual upon the border, but a peace, to be sealed by a matrimonial alliance, became the project of both rulers. After long negotiations Alexander married Helen, the daughter of Ivan and Sophia. The Tsar recovered in the negotiations a bit of his old territory, and bargained that his daughter should keep her own faith.

The last stipulation caused endless trouble. While Alexander schemed and squeezed to secure a "voluntary" conversion, Helen showed the spirit of her mother, as well as of her father, and remained firm. She acted also as a security of some value against the persecution of the Orthodox population of the country. A new war broke out in 1499, which only was enlarged when subsequently Alexander became King of Poland at his brother's death (1501). Russia recovered some further territory, and made firmer stipulations for the liberty of the Lithuanian Orthodox. So the conflict both military and ecclesiastical continued its intermittent course all along the Lithuanian border.

The gains accruing to Russia were gains also to the Russian Church. The Tsar profited, and so did the Metropolitan. But the net result of all the development, which we have traced, was to enhance the power of the former more than that of the latter. The relation of civil and ecclesiastical authority was greatly altered. In theory a balance was being maintained, and the Muscovite theory was being well exemplified and demonstrated inside Fioraventi's new cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin. In front of the ikonostasis stand two co-ordinated places of honour—the throne of the Metropolitan and the throne of the Tsar. The spiritual authority and the temporal authority do not clash, but each is supreme in its own sphere, and alike they stand before the bar of the judgment of God.

But the practice diverged increasingly from the theory. Since the fall of Constantinople there was no longer a strong patriarchal backing available for the Russian

metropolitan. Whatever backing there was available, in the altered circumstances of the patriarchal see, was of less credit than formerly. The see was overwhelmed by the Turk, and the Patriarch was often a fugitive and a wanderer, more likely to seek protection and support in Russia, than able to give them. Even the official relations were altered, for ever since the election of Jonah in 1448, the Russian metropolitan had been appointed locally and independently by a Russian Council.

The Metropolitan, indeed, continued to occupy a great position, supported by his synod, surrounded by great state and wealth, and served by an army of officers. The bishops, too, on their more modest level, reproduced the same features of dignity and power. But the temporal authority grew out of all comparison with the ecclesiastical; and before long the signs of such predominance are clearly shown by the fact that the Tsar begins himself and personally to appoint the Metropolitan. The forms of election were observed in the days of Ivan III. But they were discarded by Basil; and both Barlaam (1511) and Daniel (1522) were appointed purely by the Tsar.

It was inevitable in days when a civil autocracy was being set up as a means of escape from the disorder of the rule of rival princes or the inefficiency and rivalries of the Boiars, that the Church should suffer from the spirit of the moment. Indeed, if the State was to blame for aggression, the Church cannot be condoned. It needed a good deal in the way of reform, and was devoid for the most part of ecclesiastics capable and willing to effect the reform. A council had been called in 1503 in order to correct some abuses. Its summons was probably as much due to the Grand Prince as to the Metropolitan, and its reforms bear the mark of dual origin. The measures that it took against simoniacal payments to the prelates went forth in the name of the Grand Prince acting in consultation with the council; while the subsequent ones, on the position of widower-clergy, and on clerical and monastic discipline, inversely,

went forth in the name of the Metropolitan and bishops, acting in consultation with the Grand Prince.¹

Further light on the relation of Church and State is thrown by the controversy which arose out of this Council on the subject of monastic estates. A proposal was made to deprive the monasteries of them. Such a proposal found support in two quarters. First, there were those who held strict views about the renunciation involved in the Religious Life. They, led by two devoted monks, Paisi Yaroslavov and Nil Sorski, regarded the holding of landed property as a decline from the monastic ideal, which ought to govern both corporate and personal poverty. Paisi had been higumen of the great Troitski Monastery, and had left it in search of greater austerity. Nil was a disciple of his, and a notable representative of the stricter type of monastic asceticism, which was and is to be found in the small and remote houses called Pustyny (wildernesses) or Skity (hermitages) as distinct from the large and endowed monasteries.

Secondly, when the question was raised from that side, it was naturally supported by others who objected to the monastic wealth on other than religious grounds, *e.g.*, economic or governmental.

A strong opposition arose against any disturbance of the existing order, and it had a very capable leader in Joseph Volokolamski—a man of high character and ability. He viewed the monastery as a community organized for Christian life and good works, a centre

¹ The Grand Prince's measures were enforced by him personally, but fell into abeyance when two years later he died. The rule that prevented widower-priests from exercising their functions except on entering into a monastery was one inherited from Metropolitan Peter (1308-26). Second marriages being forbidden to the clergy, the alternatives open to a priest or deacon, who became a widower, were either to live celibate or else to enter into an immoral alliance. The latter was so often the alternative chosen, that the authorities pressed the widower to enter a monastery as the best way of securing the former. He could, if he wished, keep his dignity, serve as a clerk in church, and have a small pension, while remaining in the world, so long as his conduct was exemplary. But concubinage was to be punished by degradation from the ministry.

This withdrawal of the right to exercise his office from a priest or deacon of good character was strongly opposed as unjust and illegal. It was defended by Joseph Volokolamski.

Golub. II, 1, 612

for the relief of the poor, and an instrument of evangelization and civilization. Consequently he held that the possession and administration of landed estates by the body was not inconsistent with the ideal of personal poverty for the individual member. This view naturally was congenial to many, both givers and receivers of the estates in question ; and as a defence of vested interests it rallied a large following.

The Grand Prince was not unwilling to see the State enriched by the confiscation of monastic property. But such an outcome of the dispute was impossible in the conditions of the time. The regulation of the matter, being one of property, belonged ultimately to the secular power. For the time a settlement was reached through two orders of the Grand Prince. The first secured to the family of a landowner who left estates to a monastery, a right to redeem them at a fixed price, to be mentioned in the will. The second laid down that in new territories recently incorporated in the Grand Prince's dominions, no such right to bestow estates on monasteries existed, and such gifts could only be made by leave of the Prince. This is the Russian analogue of our English Statutes of Mortmain. These settled the legal side of the matter for the time being. But the religious question involved was still hotly debated. And indeed the monastic property continued to be a matter of controversy for a long time to come.¹

When Basil succeeded his father, setting aside his elder brother's son Dmitri, the new autocracy reached its highest point. Herberstein, the German envoy, who twice visited the Russian Court in his day, describes his position thus :—

He uses his authority as much over ecclesiastics as laymen, and holds unlimited control over the lives and property of all his subjects. Not one of his councillors has sufficient authority to dare to oppose him, or even differ from him, on any subject. They openly confess that the will of the Prince is the will of God.

¹ There is a long discussion in Kliuch. ii, ch. xi, which does not err on the side of sympathy with the monasteries. Golub. II, i, 624 and ff. may be *taken* to represent that side, though it is itself not one-sided.

His appointment of Barlaam as metropolitan we have already seen to be arbitrary. The new Metropolitan left no mark in history except for one act, and one that does him honour, namely a protest against the high-handed injustice of the Tsar. He was thereupon deposed and imprisoned in a monastery, from which he never seems to have emerged. In his place Basil appointed Daniel, who made upon Herberstein as unfavourable an impression as his predecessor made a favourable one.

A man of about thirty years of age, of a large and corpulent frame and a red face. Who, lest he should be thought to be more given to gluttony than to fastings, vigils and prayers, used on all occasions when he had to perform any public ceremony, to expose his face to the fumes of sulphur, to make himself pale.

Daniel proved suitably compliant. He carried out the Tsar's hostile policy against the two most distinguished and honourable ecclesiastics of the moment, *viz.*, Vassian Kosoi¹ and the Greek monk and scholar Maxim, of whom more will be said later. But he still more made his compliance odious when he authorized the Tsar's divorce. Basil had married the daughter of a boiar family, Solomonias Saburova, in 1505. She was childless; and after twenty years there was little hope of offspring. So she was forced into a nunnery at Suzdal; and two months later he married Helena Glinskaia in her place. The Church protested in vain. Maxim led the opposition, but it was overborne by the Tsar, and Solomonias was sacrificed.

When the metropolitan, upon her arrival at the convent weeping and sobbing, cut off her hair and then offered to put on the veil, she was so indignant at its being placed upon her that she took it, and, hurling it to the ground, stamped upon it with her feet. One of the chief councillors, irritated at the sight of this indignity,

¹ Vassian Kosoi belonged by birth to the princely Patrikiev family. In 1499 the family fell into disgrace owing to its friendship with the young Dmitri, whom Ivan III caused to be crowned in 1498 and deposed again in the year following. The head of the family and his eldest son Basil escaped with their lives, on condition that they became monks; and Basil, under the new name of Vassian, found his vocation there, and became one of the followers of Nil Sorski. He took up the mantle that fell from his master's shoulders after the Council of 1503, and became the centre of a movement for the reform of monasticism, and the prohibition of monastic estates.

Golub. II, i, 650-659.

not only reviled her bitterly, but beat her with a scourge, and asked her, "Darest thou resist the will of my lord? and delayest thou to obey his commands?" When she in return asked him by what authority he beat her, he replied: "By the will of my lord." Upon which she, broken-hearted, protested in the presence of all that she took the veil unwillingly and under compulsion; and invoked the vengeance of God on her behalf for so great an injury.

So Herberstein recorded the matter.¹ Russia had full and long opportunity to repent of what was done, for the fruit of the marriage was Ivan IV, called "The Terrible."

¹ Herberstein came to Russia as envoy of the Emperor Maximilian first in 1517. and spent then eight months in Moscow. He returned for a second visit in 1526. In his *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* he left an invaluable account of his experiences, especially on the second visit. It was first published in 1549 and often since both in the original Latin and in various versions. The English edition is that of Major in *Notes upon Russia* (2 vols, Hakluyt Soc. 1851-2). His account of Religion is specially interesting (i, 53-91) and it includes some useful documents.

CHAPTER VI

IVAN THE TERRIBLE

IVAN IV is one of the puzzles of history. His reign, moreover, is of great importance in Russian Church History; therefore some time must be spent in realizing the man and the situation.

He was born on August 25, 1530, in the unhappy circumstances which we have already noted. He succeeded his father at the age of four and reigned over fifty years (December 4, 1533-1587). The reign falls into three periods, which must be clearly distinguished. The first is the fourteen years of his minority. The boy had a lonely and suspicious childhood, deprived of father and mother, endowed with an active and precocious mind, which was never properly trained, and a character full of great capacities alike for good and evil, which were allowed to develop haphazard.

The minority was a period comparable in some respects to the time of Edward VI in England. The country lay at the mercy of the rivalries of the Boiars, who, after the death of the Tsaritsa Helena in 1538, governed in Ivan's name. Like Edward VI's Council, they were in violent reaction against the strong assertion of autocracy which characterized the previous reign. The two families of Shuiski and Bielski were as self-seeking and as bitterly opposed to one another as the almost contemporary English families that contended in Edward's minority. But Ivan's was a harder case than Edward's, for he was younger and more sensitive; while there was this great personal difference between the condition of the two boys, that Ivan was from the first deliberately led astray into wild and licentious ways, which sowed the seeds of the horrors that were to follow

later on. Meanwhile the strong passions of fear, suspicion, and anger, were driven in, and stored up like pent subterranean forces, bound to emerge later on in eruptions and cataclysms.

As his minority drew to a close, a change took place for the better. In 1542 Makari became metropolitan of Moscow; and for twenty-two years he was the young Tsar's good angel. The two previous metropolitans, Daniel and Joasaph, had each fallen a victim to the Shuiski party, and been deposed. Joasaph's ejection had been particularly scandalous, as he had been, unlike his predecessor, a conscientious prelate. When the Shuiski faction raided his palace at midnight, he had fled to the imperial palace. They followed him up there—giving the young Tsar one of the frights that contributed to the disturbance of his mental balance—and haling him away, imprisoned him in a monastery.

On reaching the age of 17½, Ivan suddenly emerged, and, taking the government into his hands, began a series of acts and plans over which he had in his isolation been for some time brooding. A solemn coronation, modelled on Byzantine precedents, ushered in this new move (January 16, 1547). The Tsar then married his first wife Anastasia Romanova (February 3), thus making an alliance between that house and the empire which was to become much closer later on.¹

The terror of a great fire, which devastated Moscow shortly after, worked powerfully on Ivan's susceptible mind; and on this occasion the fear had good fruit. It seems to have been a further influence in developing his very religious nature and confirming the new ideals. There appears also now upon the scene a new and somewhat mysterious figure, the priest Silvester, from Novgorod. He enters at this crisis, as suddenly as Elijah, with warnings for the Ruler. He obtains a great ascendancy over Ivan, and is soon found co-operating

¹ Ivan's assumption of the imperial title was confirmed by Constantinople in 1561. Golub. II, i, 845. See the synodical letter with facsimiles in Regel's *Analecia*, 75 and ff., and for a discussion of its authenticity his "Proœmium" to the documents, pp. liii-lvii.

with the metropolitan in the guidance of an era of wise and widespread reform and advance, both in Church and State.

The misrule of the Boiars was ended, for the time, by the appointment of a council of trusty men, among whom one was distinguished by special capacity and influence, namely Alexis Adashev. He was also representative of a new policy with regard to the appointment of the Tsar's advisers; for he did not belong to any of the old noble houses. His advent, therefore, marked the coming up of a new set of families to take their place side by side with the ancient nobility.

The plan was most distasteful to the Boiars, for it outraged, even more than Basil's ways had done, the old cast-iron system of boiar officialdom. Under that system all had gone by precedence. There were only so many families of princely or noble descent who were available for high government office. Each family had its own place in the order of precedence of the families; and within each family each member had his own personal precedence, regulated immovably by the nearness or remoteness of his genealogical relation to the founder of the family. Office-holding was minutely regulated by the application of these intricate and conflicting principles of precedence, and there was hardly any other consideration that could come in to mitigate the rigidity of the resultant.¹ Such a plan of government was clearly inconsistent with the efficiency of a large and growing empire. Ivan deserves credit for having perceived this, and for taking steps to free the administration from this incubus, though the methods which he adopted, both for the curbing of the boiar turbulence and inefficiency, and for the substituting of something more capable and amenable, were often such as can only be condemned.

Interesting light is thrown upon the Tsar and the Church at this period in the letters of the contemporary

¹ There was, however, even before Ivan's day, a limited power of attaining to position through military service. See Kliuch, vol. ii, ch. 3, for a description of the whole system.

English visitors to Moscow.¹ Richard Chancellor paid his first visit in Edward VI's reign. He was well received, friendly relations were set up; the Tsar encouraged the English traders, gave them a house and many privileges. But the visitors were not altogether appreciative or intelligent about the religious observances, viewing them from the narrow standpoint of the lowest epoch of English church life.

They doe observe the lawe of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not been heard of. They have no graven images in their churches but all painted—to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they use such idolatrie that the like was never heard of in England. . . .

All their service in churches is in their mother tongue. They have the olde and newe Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they have such tricks in their reading that no man can understand them, nor no man giveth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit down, and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at service, no man sitteth, but gagle and ducke like so many geese. And as for their prayers they have but little skill, but use to say "Aspodi pomele"—as much to say, "Lord, have mercy upon me." For the tenth man within the land cannot say the *Pater noster*; and as for the Creede, no man may be so bolde as to meddle therewith but in the church; for they say that it should not bee spoken of, but in the churches. Speake to them of the Commandments and they wil say, they were given to Moses in the Law, which Christ hath nowe abrogated by his precious death and passion; therefore (say they) we observe little or none thereof. And I do beleieve them. For if they were examined

¹ The early accounts of the English Travellers and Merchants may be seen in the first volume of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages* (orig. editions, or the two first volumes of the reprint in Everyman's Library, 1907). Chancellor's account is i, 254 in the reprint. He paid a second visit in 1553 (i, 266) and was followed by Killingworth two years later (i, 307). In 1556 a Russian envoy came to England (i, 357) and with his return begin the four voyages of Anthony Jenkinson (1557-72) and some of the fullest information (i, 408 and ff; ii, 1, 73, 136). Another Russian embassy to England (1567) is described at ii, 77, and the mission of T. Randolph in return (1568) at ii, 80. In Ivan's closing days (1582-3) fall a fresh Russian Embassy and the mission of Sir Jerome Bowes (ii, 249). Cp. Morgan and Coote, *Early Voyages* (Hakl. Soc.). For the English reports belonging to the next reign, see below, pp. 95 and ff.

A good summary of these and other early relations between England and Russia is in the introduction by Bond to Hakl. Soc. vol. 20, *Russia at the close of the Sixteenth Century*. The second part of this volume contains an account of the Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey between 1573 and 1591, which is fuller than any of the above.

of their Lawe and Commaundements together, they shoulde agree but in fewe poynts.

They have the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies than wee have. They present them in a dish in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the church upon the Priestes head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They be great offerers of candles, and sometimes of money, which we call in England "Soule pense," with more ceremonies then I am able to declare.

These are the first impressions of men who were shrewd and pious in their own way. (Daily common prayer was the rule during the voyage for all ships of the Muscovy company.) They are puzzled, but not unsympathetic. After a description of the Four Lents—"our Lent," "St. Peter's Lent," "fifteen days before the later Lady Day," and "St. Martin's," and after recounting the severity of the fast, the writer ends (speaking apparently of the monks):—

They have service daily in their churches, and use to go to service two hours before day, and that is ended by daylight. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse; that ended, to dinner; and after that to service againe; and then to supper. You shall understand that at every dinner and supper they have declared the exposition of the Gospel that day; but howe they wreste and twine the Scripture and that together by report it is wonderfull.

A little later (1557) was the first journey of Anthony Jenkinson, escorting back the first Russian ambassador to England. He gives a long account of the services, especially of the Blessing of the Water at Epiphany, of Palm Sunday and Easter, of Baptism, Marriage and Burial, of the Metropolitan and of the Troitski Monastery.

Of special interest is his account of Ivan's piety at this period.¹

The Emperour never putteth morsell of meate in his mouth, but he first blesseth it himselfe; and in like manner as often as he drinketh; for after his maner he is very religious, and he esteemeth his religious men above his noble men.

He is not onely beloved of his nobles and commons, but also had in great dread and feare throughout his dominions, so that

¹ Hakl. (reprint) i, 421, 429, 430.

I thinke no prince in Christendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better loved.

He delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or musicke, but setteth all his whole delight upon two things : First to serve God, as undoubtedly he is very devoute to his religion, and the second, howe to subdue and conquere his enemies.

The plans of practical reform which belong to this era bear out the description given. In 1550 a *Zemski Sobor*, or Council of the Country, was summoned to discuss the difficulties of the situation. The Tartars from Kazan and the Crimea were attacking the empire from outside ; within all had long been in discord and confusion. On Easter morning the officials of Church and State, summoned to attend the Council, met in the Red Square of Moscow just outside the Kremlin, and heard a surprising oration from the young Tsar. In it he blended pious reflections and expressions of personal penitence with menacing threats, and high ideals of peace and honour with violent denunciations. After this opening, the curtain falls on the scene. Little is known of the way in which the Council attacked the problem of the reform of civil government. But the convocation of such a body was in itself remarkable, and even unprecedented : and it served as a precedent for similar gatherings before the century was over, in 1566, in 1584, and again in 1598. The chief monument of its action seems to be a revision which was then made of the code of law, or *Sudiebnik*, which Ivan III had originated in 1497. Side by side with this, there seems also to have been formally drawn up a new scheme of civil government which is not now extant.

In the year following came the reforming Council of the Church, commonly known as the Stoglav. In order to inaugurate church reforms, a series of questions was drawn up ; some of them emanated from the Tsar, or at any rate were put into his mouth. Answers to these were given at the Council ; and a further set of supplementary questions also received brief replies. The

actual proceedings of the Council are not very clear. Its acts from day to day are not extant; but we have instead a document summing up the work of the Council, and divided somewhat arbitrarily into 100 sections. Thence the book has the name of *Stoglav*, and this name in turn has been transferred to the Council.

At the beginning of the Council the Tsar asked for its approval of the *Sudiebnik* and the scheme of civil reform which the *Zemski Sobor* had called into being in the previous year. Then the ecclesiastical work began. All had apparently been prepared in advance by the Tsar with the assistance of the Metropolitan and Silvester; the proceedings of the Council itself were brief, and the book seems to have been drawn up in the first months following the meeting.¹

The reforms to a very large extent concerned church worship; and those concerned with this topic are so important that a separate chapter must be given to the subject. The further matters handled fall mainly under the following categories: (i) Reforms in ecclesiastical government and courts; (ii) reform of abuses in the

¹ For the *Stoglav* itself see the edition published at Kazan, 1912, and for a commentary upon it the monograph of D. Stephanovich (Petrograd, 1909). The arrangement is very disorderly in spite of the appearance of order imposed on it by the division into 100 chapters. The great set of thirty-seven questions is contained in chapter 5, the earlier chapters being taken up with prefatory matter and the preliminaries of the Council. The second set of thirty-two minor questions is contained in chapter 41 and the corresponding answers are included with them. The answers to the greater questions are scattered about in the rest of the chapters, except the last three, which contain the Council's dealings with the late Patriarch Joasaph.

The ground covered by the Council is very large; its directions on ecclesiastical government were designed to make a more effective supervision of the clergy and their dependents; to prevent the exaction of excessive fees and oppression by officials; to restrict their interference with the ecclesiastical courts proper, and regulate their own proper judicial action. In dealing with the abuses of clerical life the Council took steps not only to rebuke and correct scandals, but also to provide a better supply of efficient candidates for the priesthood by establishing better schools and enjoining upon the bishop more strictness in choosing candidates. Again, in dealing with monastic abuses the Council, besides attempting to extirpate scandals, introduced some reforms, e.g. it forbade the continuance of double monasteries which housed both monks and nuns; it curtailed the private privileges of the officers of monasteries; it recalled the religious to live in their monasteries and not at large; and so forth. The lay reforms, as might be supposed, are mainly directed against immorality of various kinds, superstitious practices and the like.

Some extracts may be seen in Pharph. i, 368: and there are also some specimens of the *Sudiebnik* given, *ibid.* i, 354, 361.

clerical life; (iii) monastic reforms; (iv) reforms concerning the life of the laity.

With the latter category is connected another of Ivan's schemes of reformation. A pattern of domestic life was issued under the title *Domostroi*—the management of the house. It was a new form of an old collection of domestic maxims given by a father to his son: the new edition was due to Silvester. It entered very fully into the ideals to be maintained by an Orthodox family, giving instruction upon the chief religious, moral and social questions, as well as the duties of the individual members—the husband's rights, the position of the wife and children, and so forth. It made a great attempt at establishing order and banishing superstition. But it suffered from the rigorism natural to a monastic reformer: so domestic life rebelled against it and rendered it largely abortive.¹

While these internal reforms were being made, a great deal of national aggrandizement was being successfully accomplished. In the east a great defeat of the Tartars (1552) brought the country of Kazan under Russia,

¹ The *Domostroi* is thus, in some sense, the successor of moral exhortations like the *Poučbenia* (Instruction) of Vladimir Monomach. See above, page 15, note. A cheap edition forms part of the *Russkaia Klassnaia Biblioteka*, part 2 (Petrograd, 1911). The first fifteen chapters of the document set out the ideals of religion in the home, as a whole, the family prayers, the observance of fast and festival, etc., together with duty to God and to the authorities.

The second part (16–30) deals with mutual obligations within the family, the duties of husband and wife, parents and children.

The third part (31–65) is concerned to a large extent with details of domestic economy, the avoidance of vices and dangerous recreations and sport. A famous passage instructs a husband how he may chastise his wife, "If a wife does not live according to her husband's instruction, the husband should punish her privately, and thereafter forgive and hold his peace; they must not be wroth one with another. . . . If a wife, son, or daughter does not take the reproof or punishment, then to chastise with a whip, but strike privately and not before others. He should strike not on the ear or in the face, or on the heart, not kicking or hitting with the fist, or thrashing with a staff, or anything of iron or wood. But in a grave offence taking off the smock, beat politely with a whip while holding by the hand." No doubt this now sounds barbarous, but it may be questioned whether in England of that day the wife had a right to claim such gentle treatment. The relation of mistress to maids is defined in enlightened terms. The mistress must be able to do all the maid has to do, and to teach it to her. She must wake the servants, and not *vice versa*.

The final chapter is in the form of an appeal from the writer to his son Anthimus that he should follow the example of his father's life, the excellence of which he thereupon describes unhampered by any considerations of personal modesty.

and led to the founding of a new diocese there (1555). The monument of this victory is still to be seen in the strange but beautiful church of St. Basil the Wonderworker, which the Tsar caused to be erected in the Red Square at Moscow, as a thankoffering after the campaign.¹ A considerable extension of Christianity eastward was the result of this success, and the conversion of many from heathenism and from Islam. In the west also there were further victories. Ivan was bent on recovering the Russian and Orthodox cities and country that had been lost to Lithuania: he succeeded so far as the territory and diocese of Polotsk were concerned. He was also filled with a sense of the need of a "window into Europe"—in other words, of an outlet into the Baltic; but this he was not able to realize in any permanent form. The project had to wait for more than a century, till Peter came and was able to carry it out.

Meanwhile the process of centralization at Moscow was being continued. On the ecclesiastical side this was marked by an enlargement of the Kalendar of the Saints, so as to make general a number of cults which had previously only been local. Similarly there was effected a great concentration of relics and sacred ikons at the capital and in the great churches of the Kremlin. Thus Moscow, though a new city, became, what it has ever since remained, the head and centre of Russian church life: and, since Kiev continued still to be under Roman Catholic government, there was no other place which could dispute the claims of Moscow to religious supremacy.

The effect of the ecclesiastical reforms was short lived: in some respects some amendment was gradually made, but on the other hand some of the decisions of the Stoglav Council only gave rise to further trouble. The quarrel about ecclesiastical landed property still con-

¹ Legend recounts that when the church was finished, the Tsar was so pleased with the result that he ordered the architect to be blinded, so as to prevent him from building any rival work. The story is in Olearius (1636), see Davies' translation (1662), p. 58.

The present state of the church is figured in Howe, *Saints and Sinners*, p. 127; Wilbois, *Russia and Reunion*, p. 129.

tinued; and the early zeal of the Tsar to accomplish the reforms suddenly disappeared.

In 1560 a dramatic transformation took place, as rapid and surprising as that which had ushered in the middle and creditable period of the reign in 1547; but in the opposite direction. The Tsar now lost his wife and child, and the old terrors and suspicions began to get increasing hold of him. The good influence of Silvester and Adashev was banished. Ivan himself became ill in body and even more so in mind. Fits of terror and savagery began to alternate with fits of piety and superstition, each kind alike being allied to mania. Thus there developed in him a double personality, and a passionate alternation between devotee and devil.

Fear seems to have been at the back of the devil. Ivan was afraid of the power of the nobility, and began a policy of gradual extermination of all those who opposed him. Many Boiars sought safety in flight, and took service with Russia's enemies. Even Prince Kurbski, one of the best and most trusted of them, at last deserted to Poland, whence he maintained a controversial correspondence with the Tsar on the subject of his misgovernment, which is one of the curiosities of literature.¹

When Kurbski was gone and the Metropolitan Makari was dead, Ivan, having alienated every one whom he could trust, took a strange step. At the end of 1564 he suddenly packed up all his goods, and left Moscow for the little village of Alexandrov. Thence he despatched two proclamations, the one attacking the nobles and officials on the ground that their maladministration forced him to abandon the realm; the other addressed to the people of Moscow assuring them of his favour. This unexpected move produced an abject appeal from the people asking the Tsar to return. He agreed, but only on strange conditions, *viz.*, that the country should

¹ For an account of Kurbski and his correspondence see Kliuch. ii, 66-73. It consisted of four letters to the Tsar and two from him interchanged between 1564 and 1579. Kurbski also described the situation in his *History of the Tsar of Moscow*. See part xxviii of the *Russkaia Klassnaia Biblioteka* for correspondence and history (Petrograd, 1902).

be divided in government. One part should be reserved to him as his *Oprichnina* or peculiar property, over which he should have an absolute rule ; the other part, to be called the *Zemstchina*, or Country's property, should be governed by the Council of Nobles, though the Tsar intended still to keep an ultimate authority over it.

The "Peculiar" now became not only an institution of the State, but also the *mise en scène* and support of a weird court life which Ivan maintained at Alexandrov surrounded by a bodyguard of *Oprichniki*, or "peculiar," and a "brotherhood" of courtiers which lived a mixed life of debauchery alternating with monastic exercises, under the Tsar as abbot. Moscow was rarely visited. This novel lair of wild beasts, remote and fortified, became the centre of a reign of terror.

Against this the Church stood out in the person of the heroic Metropolitan Philip. The nonentity who had succeeded Makari was soon cowed, and vanished. Then German was nominated ; but before his consecration he made a solemn appeal to Ivan to repent ; and he was thereupon cast aside. Then, Philip was called to the post, an old courtier, since become abbot of the remote and stern Solovietski Monastery. When he saw how matters stood, he prepared himself to make a protest and perish. He refused entirely to recognize the Peculiar ; and in 1568, on the third Sunday in Lent, in the Uspenski Cathedral at Moscow, he openly testified to this refusal. The Tsar, dressed in the weird uniform of the "peculiar," came to the Metropolitan for his blessing ; but Philip refused to treat him as Tsar while habited in that garb, and uttered a courageous rebuke. A few months later a new encounter took place during a procession which was being made to a nunnery in Moscow. Thereupon the Tsar determined to depose him. A terrified and servile assembly of bishops deprived the Metropolitan of his place. The peculiar set upon him as he was performing the liturgy in his cathedral, dragged him from the altar, stripped him to his shirt, and sent him into

confinement at a monastery near Tver (1568). A year later the Tsar was passing near by, and he sent one of his minions to Philip to ask for his blessing. The captive refused, and the messenger promptly put him to death.¹

The year 1570 was marked by one of the worst of Ivan's outbreaks. The peculiars were let loose first upon Tver, where a complete devastation was made. They then went on to Novgorod, and the same policy was pursued, till sixty thousand of its citizens had been put to death. Pskov was next threatened; but it was as arbitrarily spared as the other cities had been arbitrarily ruined.

Thenceforward the rest of the reign proceeded in alternations of nameless cruelties, outrages, and murders, with intervals of remorse. Ivan alternately devastated monasteries and founded new ones, cursed and prayed, tortured his victims and was himself tortured. Lust vied with cruelty, and ingenious savagery with mere brutality.² Ivan married six more wives in succession; and having forced the ecclesiastics to alter the church law in order to enable him to marry his fourth wife, he took advantage of the change to marry three more. The fifth was drowned on the day after her marriage. The widower hankered after a marriage with the English Queen Elizabeth or, on her refusal, with one of the ladies of her court; but the honour was declined by the Queen both for herself and for her lady.

A constant succession of English envoys visited Moscow and obtained trade privileges, for it was part of Ivan's policy to encourage intercourse with foreigners; and he was especially favourable to England in spite of some quarrels because he admired what he had heard of the autocratic ways of Tudor government, and because he dreamed that England might some day afford him a safe place of retreat if ever Russia was too hot to hold

¹ For a fuller description of Philip see Howe, *Saints and Sinners*, 166-176, with a reproduction of Novoskoltsov's picture of his death.

² See Oderborn, *Johannis Basilidis . . . vita*.

him. The reports of these English visitors are full of faithful descriptions of what they saw, though couched for the most part in cautious language : and they differ markedly in their estimate of Ivan from the favourable view of the earlier visitors, which has been quoted above. Sir Jerome Bowes has put on record an interesting account of one of Ivan's outbursts of anger, of which he himself was the object when he was Elizabeth's ambassador in the year before Ivan's death.

One cause that contributed much to the madness of the Tsar was the failure of his wars after 1570. The Tartars had a sweet revenge in 1571 for his earlier successes against them. They made their way to Moscow itself, and burnt the whole city except the Kremlin. An Englishman related the affair briefly thus¹ :—

The Mosco is burnt every sticke by the Crimme the 24 day of May last, and an innumerable number of people. . . The Emperour fled out of the field and many of his people were carried away by the Crimme Tartar, to wit all the young people ; the old they would not meddle with, but let them alone ; and so with exceeding much spoile and infinite prisoners they returned home againe. What with the Crimme on the one side and with his crueltie on the other, he hath but few people left.

The troubles on the western frontier grew greater after the gallant Stephen Batori (1575–1586) was elected King of Poland. War on that frontier was almost incessant ; and, in spite of the exhaustion of both parties, it was very difficult to arrange any peace.

¹ See Hakluyt reprint ii, 135, for this. For Bowes' account of Ivan, *ibid*, ii, 249 and ff. His motives are expounded thus by Michael Lock, writing in 1575 (Hakl. Soc. vol. 2, pref. p. viii). "He desirethe the amytye with England rather than with anye other lands by cawse he well understandithe the scituation thereof be free frome dainger of all other prences . . . and the naturall vertew of the Quenes Maiestie nowe raining moveth him rather to join in amytye with hir Maiestie then with anye other prince for the saiftie of his owen person, and chieflie for the refuge of his children after his death, yf anye adversytye should happen to them in his owen lande, as with his owen mowth he haith said." Compare the earlier reasons given in 1567, *ibid*, p. xx. Ivan proposed to Elizabeth that "Yf anye misfortune or chance upon ether of them to go out of their countries, that it might be lawfull to ether of them to come into the other's country for the safeguard of themselves." Elizabeth in reply said, "In case at anie time it so mishappe that you . . . bee . . . driven to change your countries and shall like to repaire to our kingdome and dominions with the noble empresse your wife, and your deare children the princes, wee shall, with such honour and curtesies, receive and intreate yur highness then as shall become so great a prince" : and guaranteed him freedom of religion : *ibid*. xxvi.



IVAN THE TERRIBLE IN 1547.

To face p. 81.

Rome was much interested in the matter ; for its policy for some time had been to work for an alliance in eastern Europe of which Russia was to form part, and by which the Turk was to be ejected. Poland, however, for its own ends resisted this, and served as a barrier to any effective communications between Rome and Moscow. With this political policy there was joined the ecclesiastical aim at bringing Russia into obedience to the Roman see. Many fruitless attempts were made ; for the Curia had no knowledge of the real condition of Moscow and the Russian Church, and nourished the empty hope that it was ready at heart to accept the Florentine *Unia*. This hope the Russians did not dash, as long as there was anything which they wanted out of Italy. So the sixteenth century saw a series of abortive, and sometimes ridiculous, attempts at negotiation.¹

Russia was equally impervious to Protestantism ; and in this respect, too, Poland acted as a barrier. In that country in the non-orthodox regions the Hussite leaven had been working ever since the fifteenth century. Lutheran views spread early and far. Albert of Brandenburg, the last Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, made the new views his opportunity for turning the territory of the Order into an hereditary dukedom. The two Sigismunds (1506-1548 and 1548-78) made but a poor resistance to the inroads of all sorts of novel views coming from the west, till Lutherans jostled with Bohemians and Genevans, and Sozzini came as a refugee to infect the distracted land with Socinianism (1579). Very little of this penetrated through into Russia. In the course of the "fifties" some condemnations for heresy had taken place, and there seems to have been a common basis of unitarianism underlying several

¹ The negotiations between Rome and Russia in the first half of this century are set out at length by Pierling in the latter part of vol. i. of *La Russie et le Saint Siége*. In 1501 Alexander gave a decision in favour of the validity of Orthodox baptism (Raynaldus, §37, and Herberstein, p. 74). Leo X made several unsuccessful approaches to Basil in 1518, 1519. See Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, iv, 163, and his bulls, *ibid* 714, and in Raynaldus, anno 1519, §§ 59, 60. The mission of Gerasimov is also described in Pastor, iv, 569, 570.

divergent groups¹: but the main features were Russian, not Western.¹

Almost equally little did the effect of the Counter-reform penetrate. The Stoglav Council shows how far Moscow was removed not only from the Confession of Augsburg but also from the contemporary Council of Trent. Poland was deeply influenced by it: from the time (1546) when Cardinal Hosius introduced the Jesuits there, they had great influence and effect. But little came through the barrier; and it was only

¹ The two leaders of consequence were Matthew Bashkin and his successor, the monk Theodosius Kosoi. The monastery at Bielo-ozero was involved, and these theological views became therefore associated with the existing controversy about the monastic estates. They were condemned by a synod held at Moscow in 1553-4, whereupon Bashkin was imprisoned and Kosoi fled to Lithuania, married and became Socinian. With them was associated Artemi, who had been higumen of the great Troitski monastery. He too was condemned and imprisoned, but on escaping to Lithuania he became a great defender of Orthodoxy and opponent of Kosoi: Golub. II, i, 818-841.

The Lutherans were more tolerated at this period than the Roman Catholics, as being less dangerous, because less controversial. They had their own quarter in Moscow, and a church in the neighbourhood of the city (1575). Ivan himself undertook a disputation in 1570 with Rokita, a pastor of the Bohemian Brothers who came with the Polish envoys; in this he seems to have contented himself with strong language. But six years later, when a Lutheran pastor from Livonia compared Luther to St. Paul, the Tsar laid his riding-whip about his head and said, "Go to the devil with your Luther"; and when a Russian subject fled to Polotsk and acted there as a Lutheran preacher, at the capture of Polotsk in 1563 he was thrown into the frozen river at the Tsar's direction. See Phil. iii, 22, and for Rokita see Laricki; and Popov, *Polemicheskia Soob.* pt. 1.

The correspondence of Patriarch Jeremiah with the Lutheran theologians of Tübingen caused considerable excitement in Poland when it became known, but little, or none, in Russia. The first step towards this intercourse was taken by Patriarch Joasaph (1555-65) who sent a deacon to Wittemberg to enquire into the new teaching. The envoy brought back to Constantinople a Greek version of the Augsburg Confession; but Joasaph took no further step. In 1575 Stephen Gerlach took with him to Constantinople from Tübingen another copy of the Confession with letters from the Lutheran theologians; and in the following year Jeremiah the new Patriarch sent his first Answer, which took the form of a hostile criticism of the Confession. Three Tübingen theologians replied to this and also to a second Answer sent by Jeremiah. Finally in a third and more vigorous reply sent in 1581 the Patriarch broke off the correspondence. Thereupon it became known in Poland, and Stanislas Sokolov, a Roman Catholic doctor, attacked the Lutherans for their share in it. The Lutherans in defence published the whole correspondence in Latin (*Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium*, 1584), and the controversy moved on to other ground.

The answers of Jeremiah became a document of widely-accepted confessional value. They may be seen in Greek in Mesoloras, *Συμβολικὴ* (Athens, 1883), i, pp. 124-264. A Russian translation was published by the Archimandrite Nil (Moscow, 1866). See also Palmieri, *Theol. Dogm. Orb.* i, 453-463.

The Lutheran worship became known at Moscow, when a number of prisoners were taken in the Swedish war. Horsey tells us "I procured libertie to buyld them a church and contrubetted well thereunto; gott unto them a learned preaching minister and devine service and meeting of the congregacion everie saboth daye, but after their Lutheren profession": *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 182. But they suffered grievously in one of Ivan's savage fits later: *ibid.* 194.

indirectly and at a later period that the Russian Church felt the result.

However, a most successful piece of negotiation was carried through on behalf of Russia by a Jesuit. In the thick of the war with Poland Ivan made an appeal to Rome, asking for the Pope to intervene and facilitate peace. Antonio Possevino was therefore despatched from Italy with this intent; and on this occasion it was Poland's interest to forward the envoy to Moscow. After sounding both parties, Possevino succeeded in bringing them together at a little place called Iam Zapolski, and he successfully negotiated a truce for ten years (January 15, 1582). On his return in triumph to Moscow, Possevino tried to obtain some answer on the religious question. Till then it had always been postponed by the Tsar, as a project which could only be discussed after peace had been secured. But the peace settlement in no way facilitated Possevino's ecclesiastical negotiations. The answer with regard to submission to Rome was still withheld. The lesser demand made on the Pope's behalf for the sanction of some churches of the Roman obedience on behalf of his adherents trading in Russia was definitely refused. This refusal augured ill for the greater matter. Possevino accomplished nothing in that respect beyond a disputation, in which apparently the Russians were silent in reply to the Jesuit's exposition of the papal claims; but the English merchants who were present put in a book designed to show that the Pope was Anti-Christ. So this ecclesiastical side of his task was fruitless, and he left Moscow in March 1582.¹

The reign of terror was nearing its close, but the savagery of Ivan was not abated. It had reached its climax when in 1581 the Tsar in a quarrel with his

¹ The Mission of Possevino is very fully described in Pierling, *Russie et le Saint Siège*, II, book 1. A short summary of his doings, written in Latin, as given in the Annual Letters of the Jesuits, has been reprinted by Pierling as *Missio Moscovitica* (Paris, 1882) and there is added to it (pp. 59-87) a very interesting brief account of the Russian Church by Fr. Campan, one of Possevino's colleagues who was retained at Moscow while his chief was engaged in negotiating the peace. Possevino's full account is given in his *Moscovia*, first printed in 1587.

elder son Ivan killed him with the spike of his walking stick. From that day a new and more intimate spectre haunted him : remorse began to predominate. It took the form of ordering fresh massacres, together with the making of lists of his victims, which were sent, accompanied by large sums of money, to various churches and monasteries, in order to procure the prayers of the clergy and monks. One which was sent to the monastery of St. Cyril was accompanied by 2,200 roubles : in the two volumes composing it were entered the names of 3,470 victims ; and this apparently was not the largest list.

At last, in 1584, death came hastily upon him and delivered Russia from an almost incomprehensible misery. For how could the land or the people bear with it so long ? The fact that they did, testifies partly to Ivan's power, but partly also to the spirit and temper of the Russian people and in some degree to their political and religious outlook. To them the Tsar was the hereditary landlord, and Russia was his estate. It was his business to care for the political and religious welfare of his people. The Boiars were a restraining circle of cadet members of the family and members of allied families : collectively they could co-operate or hinder, but no rival candidate for ownership was to be found. Moreover, Ivan had by executions and banishment annihilated their restraining power. As for the rest of the folk, they expected no consideration, and, if it so pleased the autocrat, they received none. They suffered ; and being Russians they were content to suffer : and the matter ended there.¹

¹ A ghastly account of Ivan's last hours is given by Horsey (*Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 198 and ff.), and of his death while playing chess. Horsey had special facilities for knowing events : he spent a great part of eighteen years in Russian affairs (1573-91) and in the country itself ; he knew the language well, and had access to chronicles and well-informed persons. " Though but a plain grammarian," he says, " and having some smake in the Graek, I ateyned by the affinitie therof in shortt tyme to the readie and familliar knowledge of their vulgar speach, the Sclavonian tongue, the most copius and elegant language in the world": *ibid.* 136. The earlier part of his narrative abounds in graphic pictures of Ivan and his enormities.

Portraits of Ivan abound. See Pierling's frontispiece to vol. 2 : or better, the portrait published by Herberstein. The original drawing of this is inserted in the copy of Herberstein's *Gratiæ posteritati*, 1560, among the Grenville books in the British Museum (G. 7215). It is reproduced opposite.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRADITION OF WORSHIP

NOWHERE in Christendom has worship taken a larger and more important place than in the Russian Church. It was public worship which first captivated the untutored soul of the Russian Slav and Varangian—for his heathen religion provided him with none ; and it has held him ever since.

This state of the case is already clearly revealed in that early legend, mentioned above, concerning Vladimir's enquiry into the merits of the various religions that claimed his adhesion. The envoys who conducted the enquiry reported on their return, not about the tenets of the races which they had investigated, but about their worship. This was evidently what they had studied. They complained of the Mohammedans for the lack of reverence, and of the Teutons for the lack of beauty. These criticisms are very significant. In the worship of Constantinople they found both ; and on meeting them, Russian heathenism surrendered at discretion.

Ever since, Russia has carried on that Byzantine tradition ; and, in carrying it on, it has amplified and further glorified it ; so that reverence and beauty are the pre-eminent characteristics of Russian worship to-day.

This Byzantine tradition of rites and ceremonies which Russia received in the tenth century had already crystallized. The periods of development and change were over ; the Liturgy, the Hours of Prayer, together with the other sacramental rites and the chief Occasional Offices, had acquired the form which essentially they still retain.

In the East, unlike the West, no important modifica-

tions have been made these last thousand years. That does not mean that the Orthodox rites are primitive in their form. They are far from that; for the first nine centuries saw immense changes and developments made in them throughout the East. But it does mean that the ordinary Orthodox services are said to-day substantially as they were said in the tenth century; while on the contrary the ordinary Latin services are said mainly in the abbreviated and simplified forms, which arose two or three centuries later.

Russia has been intensely conservative, especially in its worship: so much so that of all reforms, the projects of liturgical revision have been those which have met with most strenuous resistance at the time. They have also left the saddest consequences; for the chief divisions that exist to-day in the Russian church life are due to the fact that a very conservative minority chose rather to go into schism, than to accept the correction of the office-books and the removal from them of blunders and errors.

We must briefly recall the history of these liturgical reforms, always bearing in mind that the phrase, as used in Russian history, does not imply any such great modifications as those which have altered the Latin rite, still less any such radical revisions and innovations as have produced the Anglican Prayer Books. It implies only some changes of much smaller liturgical magnitude, and of absolutely no dogmatic significance.

From the first the Slavonic Service-books were probably very imperfectly adapted from the Greek originals. When at the beginning Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century had made the language of the Slavs available for religious purposes, it was not primarily the Russians, but the southern Slavs and the Bulgarians, who carried through the task of translation in regard to Service-books, Bible and other books. Later on the Russians borrowed from them the existing versions as the nucleus of their ecclesiastical literature.

Besides the original imperfections, which were not

easily eradicated, fresh defects came in, through the carelessness or ignorance of copyists, officiants, and the like, natural enough in the course of time. The difficulties were more than textual. The system of daily services, as perfected in the monasteries of Jerusalem or Constantinople, was a very elaborate one; and a guidebook (like the Latin ordinal or "pie") was needed, in order to enable the officiant to piece together any given service correctly out of the many different books in which the different parts of the service were to be found.

Such books of direction had been elaborately and carefully made in several of the chief Greek monasteries; but they went on different lines: so that Russia, in drawing upon them, borrowed divergent traditions. At best, therefore, these services followed divergent systems; while at worst they stumbled on without any such guidance. However great, therefore, was the zeal of the clergy and people for perfection in worship, they had not the means for securing it. Add to causes of corruption such as these the invasion of the services by superstitious ceremonies or the survivals of popular or pagan custom, and it is easy to see that there must emerge from time to time a considerable need of reform.

Already in the dreary days of Mongol domination some efforts of amendment were made¹: but a general reform in such circumstances could hardly have been effected.

¹ Early in the fifteenth century attention was called to the errors, and Metropolitan Cyprian, Bulgarian by birth, introduced the new edition of the Services and the new Directory which Philotheus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1352-76), had set up in his jurisdiction. Cyprian was responsible for translating the *Sluzhebnik* and Directory and also for making Slavonic versions of a good many other services; he also gave liturgical directions in the form of rescripts, two of which are preserved. His successor Photius followed him also in this line, and being himself a Greek the shortcomings of the translation were to him even more apparent. He was the last of the Greek metropolitans; and with him the corrective influence, which they had been able to bring in, came to an end: Golub. II, i, 329, 408.

Some idea of the mistakes may be gained from the fact that the translator had mistaken e.g. *ψιλός* for *ύψηλός*; and *ἐκκλείσαι* for *ἐκκλησίας*: *οὐ γὰρ ᾤδον* for *οὐ γὰρ εἶδον*. Elsewhere the term "Mother of God," written *Μῃ.Θῷ*, had been read as *Μαρθῷ*, and treated as the accusative of Martha. Phil. iii, 164.

A directory of the Moscow Uspenski Cathedral (seventeenth century) is printed in vol. 3 of the *Russkaia Istor. Bibl.*

When, however, the clouds began to lift, reform in this respect, as in many others, was taken seriously in hand. Important points of teaching were occasionally involved; but these caused little difficulty. It was different when small and personal matters were touched: then controversy arose and became attached for the most part to these points which in themselves were of no great magnitude.

For example in 1479, when the new Uspenski Cathedral in the Kremlin was consecrated, some critics complained that the Metropolitan had gone the wrong way round the church in procession; and thereupon great quarrels ensued as to whether the right way was to walk with the sun or against it.

Early in the next century there arose a warm dispute whether Alleluia should be said twice or three times. The matter was referred to a learned scholar called Gerasimov. He had been on an embassy to Rome; and consequently he might say with some authority whether the charge of romanizing, brought against those who only doubled the Alleluia, was a just charge. He replied that it did not matter which number was adopted; and this reply offended both parties.

The similar controversy whether the sign of the cross should be made with two fingers or three aroused even greater animosities, and led to more lasting divisions.

We may judge from such instances as these the nature of the atmosphere into which Maxim the learned Greek monk was brought, when he arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the Grand Prince (March 4, 1518). He was a young and able Albanian who had been brought up in the Greek learning, domiciled as it was then in the Courts and Universities of Italy. At Florence he had come under the strong influence of Savonarola, and perhaps then he turned from literature to religion. Anyhow, monasticism triumphed over the renaissance; and Maxim betook himself to Athos. Now ten years later he is sent to Russia in response to a demand from Basil IV for some one who can translate a Greek Psalter

enriched with a patristic *catena*, which he has in his library.

The scholar and his two fellow monks were received with due honour both by Basil and by Barlaam the metropolitan. Installed in the Chudov monastery within the Kremlin, Maxim attacked his task. He knew no Slavonic, but Dmitri Gerasimov was sent to work with him; and utilizing Latin as a common medium they accomplished the task in seventeen months, as well as a further translation undertaken at the request of Barlaam. He was then anxious to return to a more congenial atmosphere. But his request to return was refused. Basil sent back his companions but refused to let Maxim go because he had a further task which he needed him also to accomplish, namely the correction of the Russian liturgical books.

Basil had been greatly upset by an accusation brought recently against them by some Greeks who had been resident in Russia since the coming of Sophia Palæologos. They had averred that the books were full of mistakes and heretical expressions. To a Russian such a thing was incredible. Basil, however, decided to submit them to Maxim. When he reported unfavourably, the Prince was as angry with him as he had been with the original complainants; but he set him to work at a revision of the books.

Maxim resigned himself to the new task, and settled down to the long stay which the work would require. Thenceforward he became increasingly prominent in all the Russian theological problems of the day. Some of them concerned him incidentally, and he was able to take a triumphant part in some of the Russian movements. The polemic with Rome concerned him from time to time, and he was also engaged in a campaign against astrology. In revising the church books he did not give up his other work of translation, but went on enriching the church with versions of theological books in Slavonic, and with explanations of the services as well as corrections.

But a more important question than these also brought him into prominence. He was drawn in to the controversy about the monastic estates, became a strong supporter of Vassian Kosoi in his attack upon the monasteries which held them, and devoted several tracts to explaining his ideal of monastic poverty. His main point was that monks, if they did not live on the proceeds of their work, should live on the alms of the faithful : and here he was bold enough to depart from the Greek traditions and point to some of the orders of the Latin West as having set an example in organizing their life on such a basis.

When Basil deposed the metropolitan Barlaam and set up Daniel in his place (1522), Maxim found himself confronted with a powerful and relentless opponent of his views concerning the monastic estates. Daniel had been for six years higumen of the Volokolamsk monastery founded by Joseph : and since Joseph's death his monastery had been the centre of the defence of monastic landowning. Trouble soon began. The Metropolitan requested Maxim to translate the *Church History* of Theodoret, apparently because he fancied it supported the view that monasteries might hold estates. Maxim declined, and Daniel stored up a grudge against him.

Maxim fell out of favour with Basil ; some said that it was because he protested against his divorce, but this is uncertain. In any case it is likely that Maxim expressed himself frankly, at any rate in private, about the Tsar's despotic ways ; and it was probably easy to make mischief between the two.

Tsar and Metropolitan were therefore set on ruining Maxim. In 1525 a Council was called to sit in judgment upon him ; and apparently the Tsar presided at the first session. The charges brought against him are not very clear, for they are not easily distinguishable from those made at his later trial in 1531. But he was certainly charged with heresy, because in correcting a passage in the service-book he had through insufficient knowledge put a wrong form of the verb when speaking

of our Lord as seated at the right hand of God. There were also other charges. One had, no doubt, some foundation, *viz.* that he had blamed the Russian Church for its existing attitude towards Constantinople and the Greeks in general. Two others were ridiculous, *viz.* one of sorcery and another of political dealings with the Turks.

His answers to the charges are unknown, but they seem not to have lacked a certain measure of the heat and obstinacy which ran through his character. He was, needless to say, condemned, and sent to his chief enemies the monks of Volokolamsk to be shut up in a dungeon.

After he had spent seven years there, Daniel, whose ill will was by no means yet satisfied, was prepared for a fresh attack upon him. By this time also Vassian Kosoi had fallen into discredit with Basil; and therefore the way lay open for stronger measures against the opponents of monastic landowning. A new charge, therefore, on this account was laid against both Maxim and Vassian before a fresh synod in 1531. In the interval also there were fresh grounds of attack upon Maxim discovered in his revised service-books and his translations. Some were merely further instances of mistaken translation, but capable of being magnified, as before, into proofs of heresy. Others related to omissions made by Maxim in his revision. What really made Maxim unpopular and led to his condemnation was not the number of mistakes that he had made, which was small, but the number of mistakes which he had detected, which was large, and not minimized by the detector. It was really incredible to the Russian public that Russian church books could be wrong, for it was unthinkable that if so they could have been used, as they were, by the great Russian martyrs and saints of older days.

Maxim had to pay the penalty of being a captive among people whose outlook was so narrow and prejudiced. A further charge or two of heresy was thrown in, not because any one believed the charges, but because they made conviction easier. Also the monks of Volokolamsk made an unenviable appearance on the

scene and complained that Maxim was obstinate and impenitent.

This second attack, however, turned out to be fortunate for the poor Greek. For, though he was condemned, he was not sent back to Volokolamsk but consigned to a monastery at Tver where he met with much less hostile treatment. The privilege of being at Volokolamsk was reserved now for his unfortunate companion, more hated even than he in that quarter, Vassian Kosoi.

At Tver, though at first Maxim was kept in a dungeon, he was allowed to have writing materials ; and a number of his works belong to this date. He took up two tasks in these writings: first, a polemical theology directed against heathen religions and various non-orthodox forms of Christianity ; and secondly, a series of exhortations to the Russian people, written in the vein of a Hebrew prophet rebuking a sinful nation and showing them their transgressions.

The change of sovereign made no difference to Maxim, but the change of metropolitan did. Daniel was cast out in 1539 and soon after Maxim was released from his dungeon and allowed a freer kind of detention in the monastery. This alleviation was probably due to the good metropolitan Makari ; at any rate it was he who at last took off the sentence of excommunication and restored Maxim at his urgent prayer to the participation of the sacraments.

There remained but one further ban to be removed—the sentence which confined him to Russia ; but, try as he would, he could not get leave to return to Athos. In 1551 the higumen of the Troitski Monastery invited him thither : he was allowed to go, and he there spent the rest of his long life (†1556). But what a sad record it is of some eighty years. Thirty-eight of them were spent in Russia, twenty-six of these in captivity, and sixteen of the twenty-six actually in his dungeon.¹

Such is the tragedy of Maxim the Greek ! But it

¹ The history of Maxim is given in Golub. II, i, pp. 665-695 ; 704-719 ; 803-813. His collected works were published in Greek at Kazan 1860-1897, and in a Russian translation in three parts at Sergeievski Posad, 1910.

A good account is given by Philaret with quotations from Maxim's writings, iii, 158-178.

was not without good effect. He set a new standard of learning and outlook, which, though bitterly resented at first, gained ground steadily. The attempts of the Stoglav Council are traceable to Maxim; and his influence on individuals may be seen in the work of Kurbski and his fellow labourers. In fact the Russian Church owes a lasting debt to the guest whom it treated so scurvily.

In 1551, the year of Maxim's liberation, the question of the services and service-books was taken up by the Stoglav Council. Liturgical topics recur at intervals in the questions propounded to the Council, and obtain an answer more or less suitable.¹ Many of them are more or less technical questions as to how the service is to be performed, or how divergent customs are to be made uniform. Two of the points already mentioned as matters of controversy were settled, the decision being made in favour of twofold alleluia, and the use of two fingers, not three, in making the sign of the cross.²

The need of correction in the service-books came up in one of the questions: the need was recognized and steps were devised by which the reformation could be carried out. But only insufficient attention was given to the subject; and though a revision was attempted, it was not satisfactorily carried through, partly doubtless for lack of competent revisers. Maxim was probably too old and too broken to be of any service in the matter, even if the authorities had been willing to turn to him for help.

The same ineffectiveness made nugatory the rest of the reforms so well planned by the Council. Makari the metropolitan seems to have laboured to secure results with some slight success³; but after he was gone

¹ Among the greater questions collected in § 5, nos. 1-3, 5, 21-23, 26, 33-35 relate to services; and among the lesser questions contained in § 41, nos. 5-12. The answers to the former set are given in various chapters; those given to the latter follow immediately after each question.

The chapters 27 and 28 deal with the correction of the books, ordering the protopopes and leading clergy to view and correct the existing books, and also to supervise the scribes and see that they copied good texts, and did not sell faulty books.

² For a good account of the history of these points see Phil. iii, 182-202.

³ Makari had already distinguished himself as archbishop of Novgorod by his reformed books of liturgy, hagiology and church law which he put out in the ten years of his rule there. They were an improvement, though, as he seems to have recognized, not at all faultless: Phil. iii, 175-8.

there was no one to take up the work, and the later part of Ivan's reign was indeed not a possible time for the carrying out of difficult church reforms.

The failure was very regrettable, especially as it lost a golden opportunity. In 1563 a printing press was set to work in Moscow, and it issued some biblical and liturgical texts. The plan had been maturing ever since 1555, when the foundation of the new diocese of Kazan caused a demand for more and more correct books than the scribes could supply. But the preparations moved slowly and there had been much opposition. When the work started it was nearly a year before the first book was issued—an Epistle-book: but it was full of mistakes. The editors had made no attempts to correct the Slavonic by the Greek: nor had they even followed the best Slavonic model. A breviary was next issued. But by then a strong opposition, compounded of the conservative forces of the Church and the vested interests of the scribes, had formed itself and was loudly crying out "heresy." The printers fled: the mob burnt their premises.¹ Their apprentices remained and started printing again at the command of the Tsar in 1568; but with only small results.

Moscow's loss was Poland's gain, for the fugitives threw themselves into the Orthodox movement there, and were the printers of the first Russian Bible and of other theological work which will be described later on.

¹ The printing press was first used for Slavonic services in 1491 when S. Fiol printed at Krakov an *Octoich* and a *Chasoslov*, and probably other service-books. A second set began to appear in Montenegro from 1494 onwards, which were the forerunners of a series of such books printed throughout the sixteenth century for the southern Slavs: some of them were done in Venice. Much less was effected in the north, though at Prag and Vilna F. Skorin put out from 1517 onward a number of books of the Bible and a Psalter. The Moscow efforts were very belated beside these. The two products of the first identifiable Moscow press, *Apostol* (1564) and *Chasovnik* (1565), are described in Karataiev, *Opisanie* (Petrograd, 1878) under nos. 61, 62. But there were probably earlier presses at Moscow in which Italian printers had a hand. A new press arose at Moscow in 1568, but after printing a Psalter (65) it was burnt in the fire of 1571, and from its remains there arose in 1576 the press which Ivan sheltered in his retreat at Alexandrov. The printers who fled in 1566 resumed their output in Poland with an edition of the Gospels (66) printed in 1569, and other work, dividing their forces between Lvov and Vilna. These books led up to the great Bible of Constantine Ostrojski (see p. 106).

CHAPTER VIII

THE PATRIARCHATE OF MOSCOW

THE death of Ivan the Terrible brought some little relief to the distracted country, but at the same time it led up to a "Troublous Period" of Russia's history. After a short interval a chaos of anarchy succeeded a chaos of wild and mad tyranny. At Ivan's death two sons of his were living, Theodore and Dmitri. The former became Tsar, while the latter was settled upon an apanage of his own at Uglich. The new ruler was a simpleton and known to be quite incompetent to rule. Ivan, in killing his eldest son, had sounded the death-knell of his house. He arranged for his second son's guidance on the throne by a council of advisers. At first Theodore's uncle Nikita Romanov was the leading spirit; but at his death the task of government was gathered more and more into the powerful hands of Boris Godunov, the Tsar's brother-in-law.

Little needs to be said further about Theodore himself: a contemporary English description of him will suffice.¹

Of a meane stature, somewhat lowe and grosse, of a sallow complexion and inclining to the dropsie, hawke nosed, unsteady in his pase, by reason of some weakenes of his lims, heavie and unactive, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For qualitie otherwise, simple and slow witted, but very gentle and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martial disposition nor greatly apt for matter of pollecie, very superstitious and infinite that waye.

¹ From G. Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (1591), reprint p. 144. Fletcher was sent as Elizabeth's ambassador on an unsuccessful mission in 1589: he was brought back by the experienced Russian traveller Horsey in 1589; and two years later he published his monograph. But it erred on the side of candour, and was at once suppressed. Parts of it were reprinted by Hakluyt (reprint ii, 284-327; 334-339), but the whole only became commonly accessible when reprinted (together with Horsey's memorial of his travels) in *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bond, Hakluyt Soc. vol. xx, 1856.

Behind the throne, while Theodore spends his time in religious exercises, in playing with mountebanks and dwarfs, or in watching bear baiting, stands the strong resolute figure of Boris. He might have been the saviour of his country; but the repeated miscarriages of the Tsaritsa rendered the prospect of any direct successor to Theodore very doubtful. In case of his death without progeny there were two claimants possible, his younger brother Dmitri, who was said to have inherited his father's love of cruelty and blood, and his cousin Maria whose husband, the Duke of Holstein, had died ten years after their marriage in 1583. One of Boris' first acts was to entice her to Russia, using the Englishman Horsey as his messenger. Provision suitable to her rank was made for her and for her daughter at first; but later both of them were forced into convents, and there the daughter soon died "of no natural disease as was supposed."¹

Meanwhile Dmitri's life at Uglich had become very precarious. In 1589 it was said to be "not safe from attempts of making away, by practise of some that aspire to the succession." Two years later Horsey found himself in the midst of great chaos at Moscow, and was advised to move for security to Yaroslavl.²

Many things passed not worth the writinge; sometymes chearfull messages, sometymes fearfull. God did miraculously preserve me. But one night I comended my soull to God above other, thinckinge verily the tyme of my end was com. One rapt at my gate at midnight. I was well furnished with pistolls and weapons. I and my servants, some 15, went with these weapons to the gate. "O my good frend Jerome innobled, lett me speake with you." I saw by moenshine the Emperis brother Alphonassy Nagoie—(the late *widow* Emporis, mother to the yonge prince Demetrius, who wear placed but 25 miells thence, at Ogletts). "The Charowich Demetries is dead; his throat was cutte aboute the sixth hower by the deackes; some one of his pages confessed upon the racke, by Boris his settinge on; and the Emporis poysoned and upon pointe of death; her hear

¹ Fletcher further says she was "allured again into Russia by some that love the succession better than herself": *ibid.*, p. 22. For Horsey's sprightly account of his mission and his subsequent regrets see pp. 210-13.

² The brief earlier quotation is from Fletcher, *ibid.* p. 22. Horsey's description is to be found *ibid.* pp. 255-6. From it both the succeeding quotations are taken.



PRIVILEGE OF THE MUSCOVY COMPANY, 1584.

To face p. 96.

and naills and skin falls of [f]; help and geave some good thinge for the passion of Christ his sake." "Alas I have nothing worthe the sendinge." I durst not open my gaets. I ran up, fætched a littell bottell of pure sallett oyell (that littel viel of balsom that the Quen gave me) and a box of Venice treacle. "Here is what I have! I praye God it maye do her good." Gave it over the wall; who hied him post awaie.

Boris had engineered a fictitious plot against the Tsar on behalf of Dmitri to justify this (May 1591).

But it was to[o] gross a falshode and abhorred of all men in generall; as God did not long after recompense and revenge with as fearfull and palpable an example. . . . The bishop of Crutetscoie was sent . . . to bury this prince Demetrius under the high aluter in St. Johans. Littele did they thincke at that tyme that this Demetrius ghost should in so shortt a time be styrred up to the dissolucion of Borris Fedowich and all his familie.

Theodore lived yet a while, and Boris governed in his name until his death in 1598; but the latter years were times of increasing trouble and unrest.

Meanwhile a grave ecclesiastical decision had been taken, which was full of great consequences to the Church. The Russian patriarchate was established at Moscow. The first step towards this result was made in 1586, when Joakim the Patriarch of Antioch came on a visit to Russia to collect alms. His presence as a fugitive patriarch seemed to offer the opportunity for setting up a patriarchal throne at Moscow. Joakim promised to consult the other eastern patriarchs. Two years later came Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the question was reopened. The original Russian proposal, to establish in Moscow one of the existing patriarchs, had by this time been given up. The offer made to Jeremiah was that he should set his see at Vladimir. This offer he declined; but he agreed to establish a Russian Patriarch at Moscow.¹

Such a development was a natural consequence of the transference, which had come about, of the Orthodox

¹ Muraviev has printed as an Appendix to his history (pp. 289-324 in Blackmore's English translation) a contemporary Russian account of the visit of the Patriarch Jeremiah, which is full of interesting detail, documents and the like.

centre of Empire and Church from Constantinople to Moscow. Russia was wise in giving up its first proposal, and Jeremiah was wise in declining its second. It was agreed that the new patriarch was to rank as holding the fifth see, and taking, in a sense, the place that Rome had forfeited. Future patriarchs should be elected by a local council. Constantinople and Moscow would exchange notifications whenever a new patriarch was appointed to either throne.

The first appointment was made by selection from three candidates. The choice fell, very naturally, upon the existing metropolitan Job, a prelate of worth, learning and experience; he had served at Kolomna and Rostov before he became metropolitan (1587) and had since distinguished himself by some energetic schemes of reform. His inauguration took place on January 26, 1589. Jeremiah promised to obtain from the other eastern patriarchs in council the necessary ratification of this new departure.¹

The immediate changes which this step introduced were not many or important. There was an added dignity, which showed itself in a new title, in some details of dress and liturgical observance; but no new jurisdiction, duties or powers accrued. It was not till a century later (1685) that the Patriarch of Moscow secured the submission to his jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Kiev and his province in Little Russia; and then the patriarchate itself was soon to end. Meanwhile the jurisdiction of Moscow under Job as patriarch was only what it had been previously under him as metropolitan. Subsequently there was some development in the powers and administrative machinery of the patriarch, as we shall see when we come to deal with Philaret. The change, however small in actual extent,

¹ A year later the Bulgarian metropolitan Dionysius was sent to Russia with synodical letters of confirmation of the patriarchate. A contemporary account of his visit is given at length in Muraviev's second appendix (E.T. pp. 325-345). A second synod in 1593 gave further confirmation.

Nikon quoted in full the Synodal Act of Constantinople in his reply to his accusers. See it in Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, i, 47-53. He had already cited it in his speech at the opening of the synod of 1654: *ibid.* v, 181.

was yet a valuable one in view of what was to come. At the least, it was fitting that by the side of a Tsar there should be a Patriarch; and that a post, already so powerful and dignified as the metropolitan's was, should have a title corresponding to its eminence and independence.

An immediate corollary of this development was the further extension of episcopal titles and organization. Four bishoprics were raised to metropolitan rank, and some others to the archiepiscopal dignity. More important was the erection of several new sees partly by the subdivision of some of the existing unwieldy dioceses, and partly later on by the taking in of new Christian areas. This extension brought about the erection of the bishoprics of Astrakhan (1602) and of Tobolsk for Siberia (1620).

The death of Theodore (1598) laid open the way for Boris Godunov to rule in his own name, since the house of Rurik had come to an end. Boris, with real or feigned reluctance, accepted the crown, offered him by the patriarch in the name of the Council of the Land (*Zemski Sobor*); and he might have ruled well in spite of the jealousies and plots of his rivals.¹ But the ghost of the murdered Dmitri haunted him, and the gnawings of conscience began to unnerve him.

Two boiar families made much trouble for him and drove him on to desperate expedients. The Shuiski family were cautious and dissembled their rivalry: the Romanovs did not, being proud of their link with the old dynasty. Theodore Romanov, the head of the house, was nephew of Ivan's first wife, and first cousin of the late Tsar; he was also a man of ability and education, and stood somewhat resolutely in the new Tsar's way. Boris therefore forced him to become a monk, and his

¹ The following description of him is given by Horsey, *op. cit.* p. 258. "Heis of comly person well favored, affable, easy, and apt to eyll counsaill, but daingerous in th'end to the geaver; of good capacitie, about forty-five years of age, affected much to negramoncie, not lerned but of sudden aprehencion, and a naturall good orator to deliver his mynde with an audiable voice; suttell, verie precipitate, revengfull, not geaven much to luxurie, temperatt of diett, heroicall in owtward shew."

A portrait is reproduced in Howe, *The False Dmitri*, p. 16.

wife to enter a nunnery, taking with her their son Michael. In this case the monastery walls did not form a tomb for the captives, but only a shelter from which they presently emerged.

In 1603, a year of great distress and famine, the populace, which had never ceased to mutter about the young Dmitri, heard that he was still alive, the murder having miscarried. At any rate a pretender arose, and skilfully appealed to Poland for help to recover his rights. Tsar and patriarch asserted that he was really a runaway monk of the Chudov Monastery, by name Gregory Otrepiev. But it was the interest of some of the Boiars to evoke a rival to Boris, and it was the interest of Poland to support him. In order to buy that support he proclaimed himself the instrument of the Pope and the Jesuits, and his object to be the bringing of Russia under the obedience of Rome (1604). This aspect of the case naturally rallied all the local forces of Orthodoxy. Boris might have commanded them and weathered the storm, but for the suspicion and remorse which unmanned him. Horsey, who knew him well, and described very graphically and sympathetically his reign, relates that "he wanted courage and harts to fight." Consequently on the approach of the spectre, he and his family took poison and were "found all dead on one floor," except his boy, who was brought round only to meet his fate a little later.¹

Meanwhile the pretender came on with the Polish army and was increasingly welcomed as the lawful Tsar. Finally Moscow fell before him and the Polish arms. Job the Patriarch, who had tried to rally a party round Boris's son, was seized in his cathedral at service time, stripped of his insignia and sent in a monk's habit into monastic captivity, where he died in 1607. The poor

¹ This description of the death of Godunov is probably not exact. The family did not die with Boris. The son Theodore II was Tsar for a short while. His mother was killed with him, and his sister at the same time was sent into a convent and died there. See Howe, *Saints and Sinners*, etc. 252-8. There is an interesting plan of the Kremlin as it was in the reign of Boris reproduced in Howe, *Thousand Years*, p. 264; and a picture of the central square in *Saints and Sinners*, p. 312.

boy Theodore, who had been thus made the Godunov claimant, was killed; and the pretender mounted the throne. He sent to Poland for his fiancée, she was married to him and crowned as Tsaritsa with immense pomp; and on the surface all looked well.

In the eleven months of his disturbed reign he showed signs of considerable capacity as well as assurance—enough, indeed, to discredit the charge that he was only the reprobate monk, but not enough to establish the rightfulness of his claim to be Dmitri. He remains, therefore, an historical enigma, the pseudo-Dmitri, the champion of Romanism and the protégé of the Poles. He brought Ignatius from Riazan to be patriarch, a Greek by birth, who had been educated in Rome and was therefore suspected of leanings towards the *Unia*. The Shuiski family formed the centre of opposition to the new Tsar and to the Patriarch whom he set up on his own authority. Consequently he thought it politic to favour the Romanovs, as being their rivals and his own relations; and accordingly he called Theodore from the monastery where he had become the monk Philaret, and made him metropolitan of Rostov. In this capacity he began to exercise in a new form the influence which he had formerly exercised as a leading Boiar. The Polish and romanizing policy by degrees raised the suspicions of Moscow, and united all forms of opposition. In 1606 a revolt led by the Shuiskis led to the deposition and execution of the pretender,¹ and the flight of his patriarch. Thereupon the head of the family was proclaimed, but not elected, to be Tsar May 19, 1606; and he reigned precariously as Basil V till July 17, 1610. At Tushino in the heart of the country there arose a new pretender, supported by the Poles (1608). Basil made a poor opposition, and

¹ For the details see *ibid.* pp. 280 and ff. Consult also the fuller account derived from contemporary sources in Howe, *The False Dmitri*. This excellent collection contains portraits of the chief actors and scenes, a number of contemporary documents and a reprint of scarce tracts (1) *The Reporte of a Bloodie Tragedy* (1607): a Dutch merchant's account of the end of Dmitri; (2) H. Brereton's *News of the Present Miseries of Russia* (1614), which carries on the story into the reign of Basil; (3 and 4) two narratives of the wars written by English mercenaries. See also Kunik, *Scriptores*.

was deposed by the gentry who formed a party hostile to the Boiars. Thenceforward there were three claimants for the throne, the pretender of Tushino, the Polish nominee Prince Vladislav, and the infant son of the first pretender. The second pretender died in 1610, and the chaos began to resolve itself into a dual struggle between the Russian nation and the Poles. At first the nation was leaderless and powerless. Then the Church stepped in to encourage and stiffen. When Ignatius the Patriarch fled, his place was taken by Hermogen who as metropolitan of Kazan had led the opposition against the romanizing of the pseudo-Dmitri. From the day when he inaugurated his tenure of the patriarchal throne by a solemn act of national penitence, he became the rallying point of the national and Orthodox spirit. The bishops and clergy for the most part supported him. The great monasteries gave their powerful adhesion, devoted their wealth to the national cause, and in some cases served as armed strongholds of resistance against the Polish arms.

In 1611 the Poles took Moscow. They had already previously taken Smolensk, putting forward their prince Vladislav, as candidate for the throne. The Swedes had occupied Novgorod, and were pushing forward a Swedish prince as their candidate. The Russian envoys to the Poles, including Philaret, had been sent into captivity. Hermogen the Patriarch had been set in close confinement in Moscow in order to nullify his influence upon the nationalist gatherings. The centre of the national movement was transferred to the Troitski Monastery. A monastic letter stirred Nijni Novgorod into action under its *Starost*, the butcher Minin, and monastic funds supported his gathering forces. A blessing reached the venture from the imprisoned patriarch before he died, probably of starvation, in his cell. Minin the butcher organized a second force under Prince Pojarski: a monk persuaded a band of cossacks to join them; and together butcher, prince, monk, and cossack, succeeded in capturing Moscow,

relieving the siege of the Troitski Monastery and driving back the Poles.

The leaders of the national movement proceeded to summon a representative council of all the country, which should meet in Moscow to settle the government. Inaugurated by a three days' fast, the council set to work: and at first chaos and division seemed to reign supreme. Gradually the view, maintained long since by Hermogen, gained ground, namely that Michael Romanov, the son of Philaret, and a collateral descendant of the old house of Rurik, should be elected Tsar. The Council chose him, and the country formally endorsed the choice (February 21, 1613). Thus, in the person of a boy of sixteen, the Romanov family mounted the imperial throne and a hereditary autocracy was recovered.

The patriarchal throne remained vacant until the peace of Stolbov (1619) set Philaret free from his Polish prison. Then he came to stand as patriarch by the side of his son the young Tsar Michael; and the relations of Church and State entered upon a unique phase. For twenty-four years father and son co-operated, and brought back peace and order to Russia after the "Troublous Period" of terror and chaos. The circumstances of Michael's appointment were such as to make him a more restricted ruler than the Rurik dynasty had seen. But part of the ecclesiastic's policy was to recover for the Tsar the old authority. In this policy lay the hope of recuperation; and if the result was not very marked, and the Romanov house long did not attain to the despotism of their predecessors, it was due to the fact that there were so many minorities in the succeeding reigns. Alexis, like his father Michael, became Tsar at the age of sixteen. At his death his sons were all youths; Theodore, who succeeded him, was only fourteen, and when he died, the rule passed to Ivan who was sixteen, and Peter who was only ten. Moreover, with the exception of Peter, they were all feeble characters. Philaret's plans, therefore, were not realized till they took an extreme shape in the hands of Peter.

Incidentally the position of the patriarch became of necessity enhanced. Father and son alike were regarded as having the imperial power. The Patriarch as well as the Tsar had the title *Veliki Gosudar* or Great Lord ; and his household and state tended to rival that of the Tsar in magnificence. Such consequences of the unique situation were inevitable, and were recognized as such. This development of ecclesiastical authority was neither studied nor resented. Philaret was a strong church ruler, and in some ways a reformer ; and his old political training and skill made up in many ways for his lack of ecclesiastical training and competence.

The administrative machinery of the patriarch was at this point considerably developed and improved. A series of departments were established, similar to government departments ; the management of the patriarchal property was improved by being centralized, though the method was the dangerous one of securing exemptions for the lands and subjects of the patriarch.

Little was done in Philaret's day for the advancement of learning beyond the setting up in the Chudov Monastery of a school for teaching Latin and Greek. But shortly after his death (1633), in the days of his inconspicuous successor, the Church was awakened to the disadvantage which it suffered through lack of education. A proposal that one of the princesses should marry the Danish and Lutheran Prince Woldemar (1640) led to a disputation on the rival merits of Lutheranism and Orthodoxy, in which the Russian champions were made to feel that they did not acquit themselves well.

It was necessary to look for means of better education in order to secure the defence of Orthodoxy. At that point it was possible to secure such means from the Orthodox who were living in the province of Kiev and in Polish territory ; for circumstances had already led them to attain a much higher level of learning and competence.

There also the immediate call for the development

of education had come from the outbreak of controversy. The Orthodox living under the jurisdiction of Kiev in Lithuania, Poland and Galicia had been in an increasingly difficult position. In 1569 the complete union of Lithuania and Poland, brought about by the compact of Lublin, had made their position worse. Polish influence became stronger in the Orthodox parts of Lithuania and Galicia; and the Jesuit propaganda began there. In 1572 the dynasty of Yagiello ceased, and consequently Lithuania counted for less than before in the affairs of the *Riech Pospolitaia* or dual state. Stephen Batori, the elected king (1575-86), was a man of great power, and his interests were Polish and Roman Catholic: he was succeeded by Sigismund of Sweden, who had been brought up by the Jesuits.

The history of the Order in Poland is a brilliant one. At first it was occupied mainly in a brilliant combat with the strong Protestant forces established in Poland: then it penetrated further eastward, and confronted the Orthodox with the demand that they should accept terms of union under the Roman obedience. In 1570 a Jesuit college was opened at Vilna; and through the excellence of their educational work Scarga and his fellow Jesuits had an immense effect, not only on their own people, but also on the prominent Orthodox noble families. These counted for much, partly because of the large powers of patronage and the like which the great laity enjoyed under the shadowy control of Kiev, and partly because of the utter inefficiency of the bishops and metropolitans. It was the policy of the government to promote such inefficiency; consequently the bishops were usually men of no education or character—nobles who regarded the church posts merely as endowed places in which they could live, almost as laity, married (sometimes more than once), comfortable, inactive and secular. Possevino, on his return from the failure of his ecclesiastical task in Moscow, had more success in Poland, and he shared with Scarga the leadership of the growing triumphs of the Jesuits.

The hopes of Orthodoxy centred in the laity. Among them were some leading Russian Boiars who had fled from the chaos of Ivan's reign. It was at this point that Kurbski was writing his history and maintaining his correspondence with Ivan. He was also busy with the strengthening of Orthodoxy, setting up schools and printing presses and gathering others to help him in such work and in translating important books into Slavonic. Another like-minded noble, Ostrojski, was responsible for the production of the first printed edition of the Slavonic Bible (1581).¹

Such, however, was the pressure, that the sons of these very leaders gave way under it and turned uniat. The hopes that were left then gathered round the brotherhood movement, developing in the towns like Lvov and Vilna, where the middle classes organized themselves for the defence of their faith and the spread of education.

A temporary stimulus was given in 1588 when Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, visited the country on his way home from Moscow. He introduced some reforms, deposed the existing metropolitan of Kiev, and appointed Michael Rogoza in his place. But this effort did not stem the tide. Some of the bishops set up negotiations with Rome, backed by the government. A new scheme of *Unia* was launched, in which Rome demanded more than had been offered in the negotiations, and conceded to the new adherents no part of the Orthodox demands, but the preservation of their own liturgical rites.

A council was summoned at Brest-Litovsk for 1596; but it assembled only to divide into two parties. An Orthodox party led by Nikiphor the exarch of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Cyril Lucar, who came with like powers from Alexandria, opposed the uniat party, with which eventually the metropolitan Michael cast in his lot. The *Unia* was adopted by the latter,

¹ A copy of this edition which Horsey brought back with him from the Tsar's Library is now in the British Museum (Grenville, 12203). See opposite. The printers were those who had fled from Moscow in 1566 (see above, p. 94). Their work in the south began with the issue of an Epistle-book at Lvov in 1573.

and imposed with force and persecution by the government on the country. It brought little relief even to those who adopted it. It was soon shown to be meant as a stepping-stone to the imposition of Latinism pure and simple. The further step was strongly resisted and largely defeated, but the uniats meanwhile were assailable on both sides.

When Michael deserted, the line of Orthodox metropolitans came to an end for the time. After a miserable interval of twenty years, in which the Orthodox nobles and brotherhoods heroically tried to maintain their ground without a metropolitan, the line was restored, and some brighter prospects opened.

But the interval contained several points of interest. First there is to be noted the rise of a uniatic monasticism, through the foundation of the Basilian Order. The name suggested an eastern type of rule, but in fact the order followed western models. When once Rutski had instituted it (1604) at the Trinity Monastery of Vilna, lately confiscated by the government from the Brotherhood which had founded it, the same rule was adopted in other houses acquired or founded by the uniats.¹ The order did much for their moral and intellectual advancement, as well as for controversy and the latinizing movement. The appointment of the founder to be Latin metropolitan in 1613 brought the order into a position of much prominence and privilege: and it thrived on the spoils of the Orthodox.

Their cause, meanwhile, lay in the hands of the laity even more than before; and the lay nobles with the lay brotherhoods defended it not for privilege but for conviction's sake. They had been the stronghold of the Orthodox in the Council of Brest-Litovsk and they remained subsequently the chief agents in organization, in controversy and in educational development, with the veteran Ostrojski at their head.

The uniats naturally inveighed against their zeal, as

¹ For the Basilians see further Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, i, ch. xxiii, and Heimbucher, *Orden und Kongregationen*, i, 137 (Paderborn, 1907).

being a lay invasion of the ecclesiastical area, and said that the duty of the laity was obediently to follow the clergy—in this case by becoming uniats. A great war of books and pamphlets now had become possible through the recent development of education and printing presses : and it raged warmly.

With the nobles stood the brotherhoods, which were growing in number and power, as the religious force of the nobility dwindled. Their schools followed a line of education which was Greek in character and tradition, and was carried out by Greeks ; and it thus contrasted with the Latin type adopted by the uniats from the Jesuits. Behind the brotherhoods stood the monasteries ; for the government's confiscations had only stimulated new foundations ; and in them a more vigorous religious life prevailed.

Another important element in the case was represented by the cossacks. Volhynia and the Ukraine, when transferred from Lithuania to Poland, were brought under the Polish harrow, ecclesiastical and civil. Consequently many discontented emigrants went forth to colonize the steppes. They acquired the independence of being free labourers, and there foregathered with a number of other refugees who lived as freebooters. From 1570 onward these cossacks were subsidized by government, as a force to defend the frontier against the Tartars. Thus they spread along the Dnieper and even to the lower river "beyond the falls" where the "Zaporogian" cossacks formed a sort of military republic. Another similar colony arose and spread along the Don. Such cossacks were essentially discontented subjects of Poland, and therefore hand and glove with the persecuted Orthodox.

While this anxious conglomeration of lay forces held the Orthodox remnant together, the position of the clergy became desperate and the episcopate had almost died out. However, a number of men of the new model had risen up and were calling upon Constantinople for help. In these circumstances Theophanes, Patriarch of

Jerusalem, was sent to Little Russia in 1620. He consecrated Job Boretski to be metropolitan, and six bishops to fill the vacant and suppressed sees. The Orthodox cause then began to revive, though *pari passu* the government and the Latin hostility became more oppressive. To such a length did the violence go, that the fanatical uniatic Kuntsevich, bishop of Polotsk, tried to suppress all meetings for Orthodox worship. The result was that he was set upon by a mob, beaten to death and flung into the river at Vitebsk; and the hostilities were still further exacerbated.¹

In 1632 Sigismund III, the great support of the *Unia*, died. The Diet which elected his successor, Vladislav IV, was made the opportunity for securing their rights to the Orthodox. Among the rights then recognized was the right to have an Orthodox metropolitan with four suffragan sees. The Diet, however, would not recognize the existing occupants of the Orthodox sees; consequently new men were elected. In place of Isaiah Kopinski, who had succeeded Job Boretski as metropolitan, there was elected a man of ability and great mark, *viz.* Peter Mogila. He had already distinguished himself as archimandrite of the Pecherskaia Lavra at Kiev, and he had been the chief agent in winning recognition for the rights of the Orthodox at the Diet. By birth he was a noble, the son of the Duke of Wallachia, who had exchanged court life for the monastery. His education had been of the best; it had been gained partly in the schools of the Brotherhood at Lvov and partly under western influence abroad. At Kiev he made great educational changes, assimilating the schools to the western model and making Latin the medium of instruction, raising the standard also to a higher level, so that his new Academy could vie with the best Jesuit institutions.

These changes led first to grave suspicions and opposition on the part of the Orthodox; and, when these

¹ Josaphat Kuntsevich was killed November 12, 1623, beatified as a martyr ten years later by Urban VIII, and canonized by Pius IX in 1867.

difficulties were overcome, to great hostility from the other side. Peter himself was very vigorous with the pen; and in spite of a certain latinizing tendency derived from his upbringing, which he reproduced in his own surroundings, one of his works has, after considerable revision, found a place among the most authoritative documents of Orthodoxy, that is his *Orthodox Confession of Faith*.¹

Kiev thus became a great centre of revived learning and theological study; and it was to this centre that, as already noticed, the Muscovites turned by degrees, as they came to see their need of better education and a greater theological competence.

In spite of this renaissance of learning the province of Kiev continued to be in continual distress. The rights recognized by the Diet were in practice ignored: and the government was only restricted in its oppressive policy by a wholesome fear of the cossacks. Consequently Galicia, Volhynia and the Ukraine hovered for some time between remaining Polish and breaking away to become Russian again in civil and ecclesiastical allegiance. On this subject more must be said later; but here it will be enough now to note with regard to the ecclesiastical side that the province of Kiev came under the Patriarch of Moscow in 1685. The dual system which had lasted since 1458 ended and the administrative unity of Russian Orthodoxy was once again restored.

¹ *The Orthodox Confession of Faith* may be seen in Greek and Latin in Kimmel, pp. 56 and ff., or Mesoloras 377-487. An English translation attributed to Philip Lodvel was published in 1772, and was reprinted by Overbeck and Robertson in 1898. For an account of its origin see Palmieri, *Theol. Dogm. Orb.* i, 536 and ff.

CHAPTER IX

NIKON THE PATRIARCH

PATRIARCH PHILARET died in 1633, and the two who succeeded him (Joasaph 1634, and Joseph 1641) were men of much less calibre. When the Tsar Michael died (1645) and his son Alexis came to the throne a similar decline in power affected the imperial government. The moment was a critical one. Circumstances were all tending to make necessary the admission of novelties from the west. The Church needed better education. The State needed an army and was continually bringing in foreigners as mercenaries or instructors. The mercantile life was opening out, and the foreign quarters round Moscow were rapidly increasing. All this was naturally affecting the social life and habits of the people. Consequently it is not surprising that all the innovating forces met with great suspicion and active hostility from the conservative mass.

The new Tsar was gentle, pious, and ecclesiastical in temperament.¹ While ecclesiastical interests therefore became predominant in his own personal surroundings, the real settlement of the affairs of the empire both civil and ecclesiastical passed away from the hands of Tsar and Patriarch to a group of able Boiars.

The projects of this group of statesmen included ecclesiastical as well as civil enlightenment and advance. No one could doubt that it was high time that the Church should arise and mend its ways. The attempts to revive learning were pushed on afresh: three monks were brought from Kiev to Moscow whose business it was to provide text-books for the new education. The work of the government and clergy was much helped forward

¹ There is an interesting account of his coronation printed by Palmer in *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, ii, Appx. 1, pp. 390-5. See also Miegé's account of the court.

by lay enterprise, following the line which had already produced such great results in Poland. Prominent among the laymen was one of the Tsar's advisers, T. M. Rtishchiev, who built a monastery near Moscow that it might be a centre for the educational work of a number of learned men whom he imported from Kiev and elsewhere for the purpose.¹ Learning thus began to spread among the laity as well as the clergy. The Tsar insisted on his sons being taught Latin and Polish (by a monk who also hailed from Kiev), and forwarded the efforts of Rtishchiev to draw into his net the sons of the governing classes. The ecclesiastical opposition was eventually overcome by the recommendation given to the movement by the eastern patriarchs Makari and Paisi during their visit in 1666. The printing press was restored and kept busy; and a considerable advance began so far as education was concerned.

But there was also much need of more comprehensive church reforms. The Church was the owner of immense properties, held on ancient tenures, among which confusion reigned. The monasteries were also rich, and often ill managed.² There were endless overlappings of jurisdictions, many exemptions and privileges, which barred the way to effective government; and a movement arose among the laity and the nobles, somewhat like the movement of the Commons against the Ordinaries in the English Reformation. The chief results of this movement were the formulation of a new Code³ to regulate the secular side of church government, and the establishment of a corresponding civil organization called the "Monastic Department" (*Prikaz*).

¹ See a very interesting account of Rtishchiev's position and character in Kliuch, iii, 342-5.

² It is supposed that one third of the land was held by the monasteries and churches. So far as jurisdiction was concerned, not only were the ecclesiastical courts, acting in spiritual matters, quite independent of the State, but the church property and church tenants and servants were also exempt from the civil courts and amenable only to the church courts in all matters civil as well as ecclesiastical except criminal offences of the gravest sort.

³ The *Ulojenie* was the successor of the previous codes of 1497 and 1550 called *Sudiebniki*. It also drew upon the ecclesiastical law as collected in the *Kormchai* or *Nomocanon*. To these it added select documents taken from the *ukazi* or decrees of Tsars and Duma, and other government departments or *Prikzai*. The work was hastily and carelessly done, but it held the field till 1833. See Kliuch, iii, ch. vii.

This Bible in the Slavonic tongue, had out of the Emperours library. for 1581.



*Hic liber qui est Sacra Biblia fuit extractus
ex Bibliotheca Magni Ducis Moscoviae. Anno 1581 estque
scriptus idemate Slavonico.*

The increase of church property and of monasteries was checked : many privileges were curtailed or abolished in the interests of uniform government. The new department had wide jurisdiction and power ; and, being what it was, it could hardly fail to interfere sooner or later with spiritual questions. In fact it speedily tried to handle them and other matters which did not belong to it. The clergy were soon up in arms against it, and tried so far as they could to get exemption from its jurisdiction ; so that confusion seemed to be worse confounded, while needed reforms were set back.

Behind these dissatisfactions lay others greater and more widespread. The year 1648 had seen the rising of a rebellion round Moscow, the first sign of self-assertion on the part of the common people against rulers whom they condemned.¹ It is probable that the shock resulting from this matured the plans for legal reform, which issued in the new digest or Code (*Ulojenie*) drawn up by Odoievski and his associates ; and also suggested its submission, when finished, for the acceptance of the empire assembled in a *Zemski Sobor*. The great economic changes were taking place which led up to serfdom : the people were dissatisfied and had no confidence in their rulers.²

The most dangerous matter, however, was that the relation of Church and State was again in question. The difficulty had solved itself in the days when son and father were Tsar and Patriarch. But the Boiars had in

¹ An interesting account of the outbreak is given by Olearius, the envoy of the Duke of Holstein to Moscow, who was there in 1633 and again at this date. See it in the English translation by John Davies, pp. 110-114 (London, 1662), and extract in Palmer, ii, Appx. 1, 2, pp. 395-400.

² There was originally a clear distinction between the slave and the peasant. The latter in the sixteenth century was still a free labourer on land which he hired by a free bargain. But circumstances financial and political placed him increasingly in the hands of his landlord, and as that century went on he gradually approximated to serfdom, since he became by force of circumstances more and more inextricably attached to the land which he cultivated. In the seventeenth century his inability to quit was not only generally recognized, but it entered formally into the terms of his bargain with the landowner. When this situation received legal recognition (in the *Ulojenie* of 1649) serfdom was not only practically but also theoretically established. For the details of the complicated development, see Kliuch, II, ch. xii and xiii ; and III, ch. ix.

Extracts from the *Ulojenie* are in Pharph. ii, 164 and ff.

secret resented the prominence of the Patriarch, and were glad to find their turn come, and to show that under Philaret's feeble successors they could both get back their own, and deal an effective blow against ecclesiastical ascendancy.

This conflict brought to the front the celebrated patriarch Nikon, one of the greatest figures in Russian history, prominent equally in Church and State, and in both spheres a storm centre. Nikon was of peasant origin, and had been a secular priest before he returned to the monastic life, in which as a boy he had served his novitiate. He buried himself in the far north and in a hermit's cell; but in 1643 he was brought back to be higumen (abbot) of the Solovietski Monastery. The business affairs of his convent took him to Moscow, where he made a deep impression on the Tsar, who insisted on retaining him close at hand as higumen of one of the chief monasteries in the Kremlin. In 1649 he was made archbishop of Novgorod. Without ceasing to be the Tsar's chief adviser, he became an energetic and reforming ruler in his diocese, and in process of time one of the chief opponents of the new Code and the new Monastic Department. His reforms found no favour with the conservative patriarch, Joseph; and there was considerable hostility between the parties of the rival leaders. In 1652, at Joseph's death, the Tsar was determined to have Nikon as Patriarch: but he was reluctant—apparently with a genuine reluctance, for he foresaw what was coming, and shrank from the contests, of which he knew he would himself become the head and centre. But the Tsar met him in the Uspenski Cathedral at the tomb of St. Philip, the victim of Ivan IV; and by the shrine of that faithful hero of the Church the Tsar extracted Nikon's consent.¹

¹ A celebrated picture of the scene painted by Litovchenko is reproduced in Bishop, *Religion of Russia* (London, 1915), p. 12. In the *Travels* of Makari, Patriarch of Antioch, written by Archdeacon Paul, it is said that Nikon bargained first that the Tsar should no longer confer ecclesiastical or sacerdotal offices; and second that the Patriarch's sentence should be absolute—clearly to get free of the Monastic Department. See the translation in Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, ii, 110.

For a few years Tsar and Patriarch were inseparable ; Nikon's hand was in everything which went on, and he inspired the very thoughts of Alexis. Olearius gives the following description of his power as observed in 1654¹:

The patriarch's authority is so great, that he in a manner divides the sovereignty with the Great Duke. He is the Supreme Judge of all Ecclesiastical Causes, and absolutely disposes of whatever concerns Religion with such power that, in things relating to the Political Government, he reforms what he considers prejudicial to Christian simplicity and good manners, without giving the Great Duke any account of it, who, without any contestation, commands the orders made by the patriarch to be executed.

Meanwhile the early troubles had passed away and a series of successes was being won. The movement for education was advancing: intercourse was forwarded with Greek learning. Arseni Suchanov was sent on two missions for the collection of information, books and manuscripts, with a view to a real revision of the services. For the time being the bridle, put upon the Church by the new Code and the Monastic Department, was powerless; and ecclesiasticism was in full swing. Profiting by this opportunity and these preparations, the reforming zeal of Nikon carried through great changes, especially the much needed revision of the service-books, of which more will be said later on.

Nikon's own account of his acceptance is given in his letter written in 1665 to the Patriarch of Constantinople. See it in Palmer, *ibid.* iii, 381 and ff. There the bargain only is "to keep the commandments of Christ's holy Gospels and the Canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, and the laws of the religious Greek emperors unchangeably, and to obey us as your chief pastor and supreme father in all things which I shall announce to you out of the divine commandments and laws." There are similar accounts in his *Replies*, e.g., *ibid.* i, 21, 583.

Makari was in Russia in 1654-6, and the *Travels* are practically a diary of his travels there and elsewhere. He visited Russia again in 1666 for the Synod which condemned Nikon, but that voyage is not recorded. It has only caused some small additions to be made to the diary of the earlier journey. Palmer did not print the whole of his account of Russia, but only what was germane to the question of Nikon. The complete travels are to be found in the edition printed by the Oriental Translation Fund of a translation from the original Arabic by F. C. Belfour (London, 1836).

Makari's experiences are vividly described and in great detail by his archdeacon. See e.g. a minute account of Nikon's celebration of the liturgy, with an ordination as well according to his wont, *ibid.* 114-7; or again the services of the First Sunday in Lent, *ibid.* 144-152, with a sermon on making the sign of the cross with two fingers.

¹ Davies' edition of Olearius, p. 138; or Palmer, ii, 407.

The revision was very unpopular with monks, clergy and laity alike ; and made for Nikon many enemies. Besides, some of the Boiars were angry with him for his opposition to their scheme of church reform : others resented the severity of his rule, when he acted as governor during the two years of the Tsar's absence on military campaigns. The fighting in some respects might be successful. Little Russia and White Russia were recovered from Poland and brought back to come under the Orthodox rule of the Patriarch of Moscow. But in the contests with Livonia, and still more with Sweden, failure ensued ; and Nikon earned a fresh unpopularity through the ill success of his anti-Swedish policy. Even the clergy, and those among them who supported Nikon in his reforms and in his opposition to the Boiars, became his enemies because of the stringency of his discipline and the high-handed character of his rule. He seemed at last to have no friend or supporter left but the Tsar ; and Alexis was not man enough to stand by him. From 1657, when he returned from the war, a coolness grew up between them. Alexis refused to see Nikon, fearing his ascendancy, and being unable to resist it in personal intercourse. The Boiars formed a ring round him and encouraged him in this attitude towards his former counsellor.

Nikon therefore resolved to keep away from active work as much as he could, though complaining that "all kinds of people do all manner of wrongs to the ecclesiastical order, and the Tsar's majesty does not grant any investigation or satisfaction." He withdrew into monastic life and busied himself with his new monastic foundations. So the initiative passed to his enemies after several instances had occurred of the Tsar's disfavour and hostility. In July 1658 he made a public act of retirement,¹ which his enemies interpreted

¹ The complaint of Nikon is from his letter to Constantinople : Palmer iii, 386. His account of his "abdication" is given several times in his *Replies*. See Palmer, i, 22.

"I wrote a writing to the Tsar's majesty and sent it by our deacon Job ; and in it was there written thus : 'Behold I see thy wrath increased against me without just cause,

as an abdication of the office of patriarch. They therefore studiously kept him from seeing the Tsar and from all business : but Nikon continued to regard himself as patriarch, though he dressed as a simple monk and lived in retirement first at his Voskresenski Monastery, and later at the Krestnoi Monastery on the White Sea.

So the rivals set to work to procure his deposition. The Tsar called a synod partly to attain that object, and partly also that it might carry on the ecclesiastical government meanwhile. The attack was a miserable business, recalling in some ways the attack made upon the English Archbishop Laud. The charges against Nikon were frivolous, but malicious : he was blamed for being called by the title of *Veliki Gosudar*, for mal-administration, for encroachment on the civil power, for arrogance, ambition, and so forth. Two voices were uplifted in his favour at the Council in 1660 ; and one, which urged that the Russian bishops could not themselves judge their Patriarch without the intervention of the other patriarchs, was found unanswerable. The administration of the office was committed to a deputy, Bishop Pitirim ; meanwhile the patriarchs were invoked, and every pressure was put upon Nikon to secure from him a proper resignation. Failing in this the Tsar attempted to make him come before a civil court composed of Boiars : this, of course, he refused to do. He was then attacked through his property and his friends. A Boiar took possession of some of his land and raised a new form of strife, while every one who befriended him or said a word in his favour was banished or punished.

At this point there appeared upon the scene the villain of the piece, Paisi Ligurides, a sharp-witted Greek,

and on that account thou absentest thyself from the holy assemblies in the churches. But I am a stranger and pilgrim upon the earth : and behold now, remembering the divine command, *Give place unto wrath*, I will go away from this place and city : and thou wilt have to give account for all before the Lord God.' And the sovereign, having read what was written, sent it back to me because he said, 'it was of no use to him.' Compare *ibid.* i, p. 583.

The refusals of the Tsar to come as usual to the services on July 8 and 10 are described by Nikon in his Letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, *ibid.* iii, 384 and ff.

educated and ordained in Rome, then re-ordained in the East, consecrated to the see of Gaza by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, but soon apparently deposed. He then found his way as an ecclesiastical adventurer of bad character and no resources to Moscow (April 1662). There, looking about for employment, he seems to have perceived that he could make himself useful to Nikon's enemies. He represented himself as authorized by the patriarchs to intervene in the matter; but when he visited Nikon with one of the bullying parties, the patriarch soon discovered that he was a mere adventurer, who had not even ordinary letters of commendation. Thenceforward Paisi was in the forefront of the attack; and he wrote a history of the whole matter from his own point of view.¹

A dramatic turn was given to the course of events in December 1664, when Nikon, in deference to a vision, and also probably to messages emanating from the Tsar, returned to Moscow. He made an unexpected appearance in his patriarchal state in the Uspenski Cathedral, and sent, according to custom, to call the Tsar to the service. The message at last came back, that Nikon must return to the Voskresenski Monastery and await the decision of the patriarchs. Later on, his orders were that he was to undergo his trial before the forthcoming Council, for which patriarchs and metropolitans from all the East were assembling.²

¹ Paisi's history forms the bulk of Palmer's third volume.

² The charges against Nikon had already been embodied in a set of thirty questions drawn up nominally by the Boiar Streshniev, and answered by Paisi. A similar set of twenty-five questions was sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1663-4 and answers were sent subscribed by the four patriarchs. The genuineness of these was questioned in Moscow when they arrived: so a second embassy was sent to Constantinople to verify this point and to persuade some of the patriarchs to come in person and sit in judgment upon Nikon.

Nikon wrote elaborate replies to the thirty questions, but they seem to have been disregarded. They are printed in Palmer, vol. i. For Nikon's account of his appearance at Moscow see his letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Palmer, iii, 394, and for the squabble over his crozier which ensued. This letter was sent in 1665 in view of the coming of the patriarchs. Nikon had great difficulty in despatching it; and it never arrived, being intercepted on the way, and made a ground of fresh accusations against him. It is the best brief statement of Nikon's case, before his condemnation.

Paisi's account of Nikon's appearance is fully given in I, xxii, of his history: Palmer, iii, 85-89.

The synod was held two years later on the arrival (November 2, 1666) of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. Nikon, on receiving his summons, prepared as for death. He went up and faced the synod as patriarch on December 1; and since no patriarchal chair was provided for him, he stood, a lion at bay, for ten hours rebutting the charges. The synod sat on, but was unwilling to face the accused more than once before the final session. Then, after the condemnation had been already settled, Nikon was called in and deprived of his dignity. Some of his insignia were stripped from him; others were left for the moment, not out of consideration for him, but from fear of the resentment of the common people, with whom he was still popular. Thence he was secretly conveyed away into exile in the distant Therapontov Monastery at Bielo-ozero: and the triumph was secured.

The formal charges on which he was condemned were (1) for cursing Russian bishops without trial or judgment, (2) for deserting his throne and thereby leaving the church defenceless, (3) for the language used against his opponents and for contumacy in face of his judges, (4) for slander against the Tsar, the clergy and the Russian Church, (5) for arbitrary and cruel administration.

The real matter at issue was studiously avoided, *viz.*, the relation of Church and State. This bulks large in all Nikon's doings, and especially in his Letter to the Patriarch and in his Replies. His protests are against the Monastic Department and its interference with ecclesiastical and spiritual matters; against the Tsar because he "invaded matters belonging to the bishops by orders and acts touching matters of divine grace"; because he controls the ordinations, the synods, the appointment of bishops, and the verdicts of the ecclesiastical courts; because he invades church property—not only the patriarchal estates but others also. The personal matters and grievances, though they too bulk large, are always subordinate to the great

question which Nikon had foreseen from the first would be his ruin.¹

For fourteen years Nikon remained in exile, while two nonentities succeeded him on the patriarchal throne. As time went on Alexis relented a little, and procured some mitigation of his hard lot. Intercourse was resumed between them by letter. But in 1676 Alexis died, and Nikon's enemies made the accession of his yet feebler son, Theodore, the opportunity for a fresh attack. Nikon was sent away into deeper obscurity. After three years Theodore extorted from the dominant party the concession that Nikon might be allowed to die in his own monastery. He started, but never reached the goal, for he died at Yaroslavl on the boat that was carrying him down the Volga thither (August 17, 1681).²

Like Thomas Becket and William Laud, Nikon had much that was regrettable mixed with the fine elements in his character. The cause for which he fought was a great one: it was the cause of the Church against those who seemed to him to be unwarrantably invading its rights. And even if in all points the estimate that such men formed of their cause may now not be endorsed, or their methods justified, yet no one can withhold admiration from them, or fail to recognize the great services that they rendered to their country.

His defence of the Church lapsed in the day of his two successors; but when Joakim became patriarch, 1674, the protest against the Monastic Department was revived with such success that the Department was closed. Also the sphere of church jurisdiction

¹ The official account of the synod is in Palmer, iii, 437-450. It is not an impartial account. Some other official documents about the summons to Nikon are *ibid.* 412-415. Paisi gives an account at length not only of the Synod itself but also of the month spent previously in preparing for the foregone conclusion. See his Book II, in Palmer, iii, 118-199. There are many other original documents given in Palmer, vols. iv. and v.

² There are a number of portraits of Nikon. One is reproduced in colour as frontispiece to Howe, *Thousand Years of Russian History*, from a contemporary picture in the church at Voskresenski. Another from a contemporary portrait in the Petrovski Monastery at Moscow is given as the frontispiece to Palmer, vol. vi. There are others in Brilliantov, *Patriarch Nikon* (Petrograd, 1899). A contemporary drawing of Tsar and Patriarch together is in Pokrovski, *Ikon. Podl.* p. 136.

An English life of Nikon is in Thornton and Blackmore, *Lives of Russian Prelates* (London, 1854).

was again reasserted, and lay invasions of it were curbed. In successive synods further attempts were made to enforce church discipline and to reform many monastic abuses. The government allowed these measures, but would not consent to leave the church estates again at the disposal of the prelates and monasteries as formerly. On the contrary, a number of fresh schemes were put forward for using the excess of church wealth in charitable and eleemosynary ways. Joakim's efforts, therefore, were only partially successful.

His intervention was also needed in the growing rivalry between the two sets of educationalists who had come to Moscow from Kiev. The one set wished all the advance to be made along Greek lines: at the head of this movement was Epiphani Slavenitski, a learned scholar who had done a great share of the actual work involved in Nikon's revision of the service-books. The other set favoured the Latin methods of study with which the Jesuits had made a great success in Poland. At the head of this party was Simeon of Polotsk. He had two advantages over the rival party in that he was more a practical man of the world than the retiring scholars of the opposition: and also that he had great influence at Court, where he was tutor of the elder sons of Tsar Alexis. This party had the support of the Jesuit influence which penetrated even into Moscow through the Austrian Embassy; but on the other hand its latinizing tendency stirred up grave suspicions and awoke considerable hostility. Epiphani died in 1676, and Simeon during the four years in which he survived him gained great advances for his party. At his death in 1680 his mantle fell on Silvester Medviediev, and the Patriarch encouraged, as champion against him on the Greek side, a learned but retiring monk called Evthimi, of the Chudov Monastery.

The idea was broached of raising up the school in the Zaikonospasski Monastery to the level of a theological academy. Such a centre of higher education was greatly needed to correspond with the academy at Kiev. It

looked as though the direction of the new foundation would fall a prize to Silvester and the Latin party. But other forces had been set going. Dositheus, a visiting patriarch of Jerusalem, was alarmed, seeing that Moscow bid fair to following the latinizing ways of Kiev. For the two schools stood not only for two different ideals of education, but in some matters for two rival theological tendencies. Notably this was the case about eucharistic doctrine. In regard to this the Latin party had adopted much of the western doctrine. They held in particular the Latin view that the Consecration was effected by the words of Christ recited by the celebrant in the consecration prayer ; while the others maintained the eastern view that the consecration was effected by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, *i.e.* at a later point in the consecration prayer. Dositheus saw the seriousness of the situation and procured for Russia the services of two brothers, Greek monks hailing from Kephalaria named Likhudy. The brothers had studied in Venice and Padua without losing their eastern convictions. Their journey to Russia at the invitation of Theodore was already beset with disputations, and their arrival in Moscow was the signal for the joining of battle with Silvester and his expectant party. The result was that the expectations of the Latinizers were dashed, and the brothers Likhudy were given the task of inaugurating the new academy (1686).

The big eucharistic controversy ensued. Kiev was challenged to express its opinion by Patriarch Joakim, and it ultimately declared for the eastern tradition. This was a great blow to the Latinizers from which they did not recover. A Council in 1690 condemned " Bread-worship " as a heresy, *i.e.* the reverencing of the Sacred Elements as consecrated after the Lord's words had been recited and before the Invocation. Already its chief advocates had disappeared. Medvediev had been executed in 1689 for his share in the attempt of Sophia to seize the throne ; and the Jesuits, who were also thought to have had designs in the same matter, had been in the

year ejected from Russia. After the Council, Joakim made a clearance of the teachers from Kiev; and when he died (also in 1690) his successor Adrian continued his strong anti-Latin policy. No leaders were left to carry on the work of higher and wider education except the brothers Likhudy; and so strong was the anti-Latin feeling that had been aroused, and so destructive was the suspiciousness of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, their quondam patron, that even they were suspected. They eliminated some of the elements in their system which were thought dangerous; but even so they did not stay the rising tide. In 1701 they were ejected from Moscow. Their pupils made a gallant attempt to carry on the work, jettisoning the Latin language; the Patriarch gave them no help, but only by scared complaints added to the confusion. The academy decayed in all respects, till even structurally the building was in a ruinous condition. Its recovery had to be effected under a new régime, in which there would be no Patriarch either to help or hinder.

Joakim had done much to justify his position and to carry through some of the needed reforms; but his successor, Adrian, had done little. In spite of Joakim's work it became plain that the defeat and deposition of Nikon had sounded the death-knell of the Russian patriarchate, and foreshadowed the ruin of the Church's position in its relation with the State. The patriarchate did not at once come to an end. Indeed in one respect it seemed subsequently to grow in power; for it recovered considerable territory, which had long been under Poland. Not only did the areas recovered by Tsar Alexis come under the Patriarch of Moscow, but Kiev itself, as has been already mentioned, was eventually won back. Already in the middle of the century the cossacks of the Ukraine, weary of the controversies and the religious oppression, had broken away from Poland and become incorporated in Russia. Later on, in 1685, after the treaty with Poland, the ecclesiastical counterpart of this change took place and Kiev came under the Patriarch of Moscow.

But in spite of these gains to the patriarchate, its days were numbered. Only eight months after the death of Nikon there comes the rise of Peter the Great : and the tame rule of two mild and pious sovereigns is followed by a materialistic tornado, barely controlled by a reforming genius. And in the hurly-burly the liberties of the Church finally vanished.

CHAPTER X

PETER THE AUTOCRAT

WHEN Theodore died in 1682 he left two brothers —Ivan, like himself, a fruit of his father's first marriage; and Peter, his half-brother, born of the second wife. Ivan was aged 21, but was practically imbecile. Peter was a child of ten years old. The Patriarch and the nobles proclaimed Peter as Tsar, and his mother as Regent; but they had failed to reckon with the daughter Sophia. She made common cause with her mother's family (Miloslavski), enlisted on her side the *Strieltsy* or bodyguard, and overturned the existing arrangement in favour of one which made the two boys joint Tsars and herself the Regent. In that capacity she meant to govern, and for some five or six years she succeeded. Ivan gave her no trouble, and she was more than content to neglect Peter, leaving him to run wild and apparently waste his time, with nonentities as his companions, and boyish follies as his occupations. But in 1689, at the age of 17, Peter took matters into his own hands, ousted his half-sister, and inaugurated a new stage of autocracy. Defying all the Russian traditions, Peter set to work to reconstruct the framework of the empire from top to bottom. His native genius supplied him with ideas, his extensive travels and personal experiences gave him a first-hand knowledge of life in general, and the details of the civilization of Western Europe. So he gave to Russia new ideals, new methods, and a new capital; and carried out a reconstruction with a high hand and unscrupulous determination.

It is to Peter that the suppression of the patriarchate is due; and the subsequent relations of Church and State

in the empire are for the most part what Peter made them. He found Joakim as patriarch, and resented the protests which Joakim made against his irreligious ways. At Joakim's death he appointed Adrian, a feeble old man averse to any change. So the ten years of his occupation of the patriarchal throne saw the steady decay of the patriarchal authority. Peter had probably already made up his mind that he would tolerate no rival throne side by side with his imperial throne. But he was shrewd enough to proceed with far more caution and deliberation in touching the ecclesiastical government than in dealing with any other organization, for he recognized that Russia was more conservative and more sensitive at this point than at any other.

No one was appointed to succeed Adrian as Patriarch of Moscow upon his death in 1700. The Tsar was busily engaged in the Swedish war; a period of vacancy began, which ultimately lasted over twenty years. It was not at first clear that the patriarchate was in fact ended. A series of new ecclesiastics began to arise, favoured by the Tsar's approval, men who had been trained on the Western model and were connected with the Academy of Kiev. For Peter followed the example of his sister Sophia at least in this, that he encouraged the New Learning that hailed from Little Russia. One of this group came to the front at Adrian's death. Stephen Yavorski was in that same year (1700) sent to Moscow by the Metropolitan of Kiev, in order that he might be appointed his assistant bishop. He was a Galician by origin, and both by education and subsequent career was closely connected with the Academy of Kiev. The Tsar, who wished for "new brooms," and had been attracted by his preaching, decided not to send him back to Kiev, but to keep him as Metropolitan of Riazan and to occupy the curious post of "Exarch, locum-tenens and administrator of the Patriarchal Throne." The post itself and its first occupant aroused much suspicion and ill-will. At first Peter supported Stephen as an enlightened person with a Western outlook.

But the two before long fell out over the question of protestantism; for Peter during his travels in the West had imbibed much sympathy with Lutheranism and favoured the Germans, while in Stephen both the Orthodox tradition and the Jesuit groundwork of education had combined to make him the foe of everything protestant. He was also thrown, as he lost Peter's favour, into the arms of the rival party in politics who wished for the removal of Peter, and utilized as their tools his incompetent son and his first wife Evdokia, whom he had divorced in order to marry Katharine. Consequently when their schemes were overthrown, when the Tsarevich Alexis was tried, condemned and terrified to death, and his mother and aunt were more closely immured in monastic detention, Stephen was still more discredited.

The shifting of the capital from Moscow to Petersburg which was being gradually effected, made it all the easier for Peter to discard Stephen. He surrounded himself, therefore, in his new city among other novelties with fresh ecclesiastical agents. The two principal ecclesiastics were both men of the same school but more compliant than Stephen. When Peter founded the monastery of Alexander Nevski there, in 1712, he appointed as the first archimandrite Theodosi Yanovski, a man of education and capacity but no religious worth. In 1721 he was promoted to succeed his old patron Job in the see of Novgorod. But his position in Peter's favour was not so great as that attained by Theophan Prokopovich whom he summoned from Kiev to Petersburg in 1716. Two years later he was made Bishop of Pskov: and he was entrusted by the Tsar with the task of drawing up the plans for the new scheme of church government which had been gradually maturing during the long vacancy. The Tsar found in him a counterbalancing power to Stephen, for Theophan, like Peter himself, was inclined to favour protestant views. So the rivalry between Stephen and Theophan became a theological one as well as a political one. The new Russian learning was divided into two schools; and each

of them was suspected by the conservatives because each was in its way dangerously Western.¹

Already during this interim a good many alterations had been made. The Church was deprived of a considerable part of its judicial authority and of its fiscal administrative power. Since there was no Patriarch, a number of his duties were handed over to government officials, or to the Senate when it was created (1711).

The Court of the Patriarch being in abeyance, changes were made which removed many causes and persons from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts to that of the secular courts. Matters of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline were still subject to the ecclesiastical courts and were judged in the court of the Administrator. For a time the clergy were put under the civil courts; but this experiment was given up, and the clergy came back again under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

On the administrative side the chief change was the re-establishment (1701) of the Monastic Department, which had been set up under Alexis and closed under Theodore. This undertook the chief part of the supervision of the church estates: some of the revenues were set apart for the prelates and the monasteries, while the surplus was made available for education, for charitable purposes and even for purely secular objects.

Other church reforms were also initiated. The inner life of the monasteries was taken in hand, and the ordinary clerical duties were regulated also. Lay discipline also was not forgotten, as was shown by such

¹ Yavorski's most famous book is his defence of Orthodoxy called *The Rock of Faith*. It was never printed till 1727, five years after the author's death, but it then became the centre of theological controversy and was attacked from several sides. In its exposition of Orthodox doctrine it showed many signs of the influence of scholasticism, western liberalism and Latin theology, while on the other hand it was passionately hostile to protestantism. The scholastic and Latin elements were as distasteful to Theophan and his party as to the conservatives, and a brisk interchange of polemical writings was the consequence. See Morev, ch. vi. Since Stephen's death his cause had been maintained by his disciple Theophylact Lopatinski. By 1735 the controversy had become so embittered and the Teutonizing government was so much annoyed with the anti-protestant propaganda connected with *The Rock of Faith*, and supported by the Jesuits for their own ends, that Lopatinski was summoned to Petrograd in 1735 and there imprisoned. He was still kept there even after Theophan's death, and was only set at liberty and restored to his status four months before he died in 1741.



THEODORE III.

To face p. 128.

signs as an order for annual confession, or a requirement of attendance at church on every Sunday and festival.

The Church seemed to be brought into line with the various civil agencies of government—at least upon the ecclesiastical, as distinct from the spiritual, side. Finally, in 1721 the system of government by a college or board rather than by an individual minister, which had already been applied to every side of civil government, was extended also to the ecclesiastical government. There were to be no more patriarchs. A new Spiritual College or Synod was to take the Patriarch's place and govern the Church, along lines laid down by Peter's new ecclesiastic Theophan in the *Spiritual Regulation*, and promulgated by the Tsar himself.¹

Thus, since 1721 the Russian patriarchate has been in commission. The other patriarchs of the East have approved or acquiesced in course of time. Some internal modifications have come about, which have made the Synod a more satisfactory representative of the Patriarch both in theory and in practice; but while all Peter's other governmental Colleges have disappeared, giving place to the personal direction of the department by a responsible minister, the ecclesiastical Synod alone survives.

Its importance is such that a general outline of the new plan must be given. The ideas moving in Peter's mind may be seen from his edict.

We therefore having taken upon Us the care of the regulation of the clergy and spiritual order, and not seeing any better way for it than a Regulation by a Synod, yet because this is too weighty a charge for any single person, to whom the Supreme Power is not hereditary, We appoint a Spiritual College, *i.e.* a Spiritual Synodical Administration, which is authorized to rectify, according to the Regulation here following, all spiritual affairs throughout the Russian Church.

The first part of the said Regulation is an exposition of the advantage of government by a college rather than by an individual; the second deals with the affairs of which the Spiritual College has cognizance, first those

¹ The *Spiritual Regulation* may be seen in English in Consett, *Present State and Regulations of the Church in Russia* (London, 1729), vol. i.

common to all members of the Church, and second those proper to different estates—the clergy, the monks, the schoolmasters, and the laity generally. The work to be undertaken under the former head is (a) the reform of superstitious customs, etc., some of which are quoted as examples, (b) the direction of religious education. Under the second head the particular duties of the bishops are described at length, an elaborate scheme of education both ecclesiastical and civil is set out, rules are given for preachers, and the ecclesiastical duties of the laity are defined.

In the third part the members of the Synod are taken in hand, and their duty, office, and powers are defined. Besides general supervision the Synod is responsible for the censorship of writings, the examination of alleged miracles, cases of conscience and of heresy; the investigation of those promoted to the episcopate, the trial of bishops—"in a word all the affairs which the patriarchs heretofore decided": the supervision of church finance and alms-giving, and the regulation of ecclesiastical fees.

Supplemental orders filled up a number of gaps in the original Regulation. In particular the duties of clergy and monks omitted in Part 2, ii, were added in an Appendix (1722), thirty injunctions being made for the clergy and sixty-two for the monasteries. The Tsar also defined, in answer to a question on the subject, the method of appointing bishops thus: "to set apart two persons, and him we elect to consecrate and appoint." The original members were Stephen Yavorski, Metropolitan of Riazan, the President, Theophan of Pleskov and Theodosi of Novgorod acting as Vice-Presidents, with another archbishop, four archimandrites, two higumens, two protoiereis (archpriests) and a secretary.¹

¹ The draft Regulation was read and amended by the Tsar on February 11, 1720, and approved by a Council on the 23rd. The edict made "with the consent and advice of all the Russian clergy and the most high Senate" was dated February 14, 1721, first printed in the September following at Petrograd and again at Moscow February 23, 1722. The appendix was read, amended and approved for publication April and May 1722. The Tsar applied to the Eastern Patriarchs for their approval, and a letter from those of Constantinople and Antioch recognized the new body (September 23, 1723) as their "brother," and as a corporation competent to act in the same way as the four apostolic thrones.

The powers of the Synod were to be partly legislative, partly judicial, and partly administrative. The legislative measures were to have the approval of the Tsar and then to become binding on clergy and laity. Its administrative powers extended to such matters as the formation of new dioceses, the election or dismissal of new bishops and new heads of monasteries and other officials, the foundation of new societies, the supervision of finance, the exercise of discipline, and so on. In its judicial aspect the Synod was to be a superior ecclesiastical court, and a court of appeal.

The membership, constitution and status of the Synod have constantly changed. In the feeble days after Peter's death it underwent considerable depreciation, being subordinated first to the Supreme Council (1726) and later to the short-lived Cabinet of Ministers (1731); but when Peter's daughter Elizabeth obtained the throne, the Synod profited by the revulsion of policy which ensued. The germanizing policy ceased, and national ideals again came to the front. The Synod recovered what it had lost, but failed to gain what it now aspired to have, namely, a real measure of spiritual independence.¹

The difficult task of balancing the rival interests of Church and State is therefore in Russia not left to Patriarch and Tsar²; but the church interest is entrusted to a board of metropolitans, bishops, and other clergy, in conjunction with a lay officer, the 'Ober-Procuror,' who represents the Tsar. Till 1722, when Yavorski died, he, as president of the Synod, was the Tsar's representative. Afterwards a clearer line was drawn by the appointment of the lay Procurator to represent the Tsar.³ The two jurisdictions are carefully kept distinct.

¹ For the details of the changes see Dobroklonski, iv, 72-85.

² The solution provided by Peter for dealing with conflicts between Church and State was a conference of representatives from the two co-ordinate bodies, the Senate and the Synod; and in the early days such conferences were held and found valuable.

³ This office was modelled upon the corresponding office of General-Procurator of the Senate. It was not, therefore, meant to be the compensating balance of the civil authority against the ecclesiastical within the Synod. That balance was to be effected by setting Synod against Senate. The Procurator in both cases was to act as "the eye of the Emperor and his agent in imperial matters." But in course of time the Ober-

The civil lay representative is not a member of the synod: he sits apart. Besides, the presidential chair is unoccupied: since 1722 neither Patriarch nor Tsar has ever sat in it.

It cannot be denied that Peter's suppression of the patriarchate was due to the common jealousy with regard to the Church which afflicts all but the most judicious civil rulers. If Church and State fall out, the Synod will always be easier for the Prince to handle than a Patriarch like Nikon. But the Synod may easily be more effective than his last successor Adrian was. In short, it is not the nature of the institutions but the spirit of the Church and nation which secures, or fails to secure, a right balance between them.

The Holy Synod is not, and cannot be, and would not be allowed to be, a venturesome body. It is not, as we have noticed, a synod of the clergy in which they can freely and fully plan, or even debate, the best interests of the Church. Still less is it a synod of the Church as a whole—of that Russian Church in which, both theoretically and practically, the laity and the whole body of the baptized count for so much.

It is an ecclesiastical committee, in whose hands is placed a very highly centralized ecclesiastical government, so that bishops, dioceses, and all smaller authorities and units are very fully under its control.

There is no real synodical government. The country is divided into dioceses but not into provinces: the bishoprics are areas like the "governments," all subordinated to a central control. As there is no provincial organization there is of course no provincial synod, and bishops have no opportunity to co-operate or consult together. They are isolated dependents upon the Holy Synod, which sits in Petrograd.

Procuror's duty has become much more than merely watching and reporting to the Tsar. He has by degrees become a Director of Public Worship, or of Orthodox Religion, with all the status of an imperial Minister and with power to supervise the Synod as his department. The balance is not now effected by weighing Synod against Senate, but by setting the table where the Synod sits headless, over against the table where the Procurator sits solitary. For details see Dobrokl. iv, 85-87.

In recent years a strong movement has arisen in Russia directed towards the restoration of the patriarchate. But the disease from which church government was suffering until the Revolution was not one that could be secured merely by so simple a change. It remains to be seen whether the ecclesiastical bureaucracy of the Church will vanish with that of the State, and be exchanged for something more effective. In a large and comprehensive scheme of reform based on provincial and synodical models, the restoration of the patriarchate might well have a place.

This would also remedy the defect that there is at present no diocesan synod: the bishop is surrounded by a consistory—the word is reminiscent of the German Lutheranism from which it was borrowed—which is a small local reproduction of the Holy Synod, and therefore in no sense a real synod of the clergy or the Church in the diocese.

By this consistory the bishop is tied; so that while he has considerable authority in matters of routine, any action that lies outside routine is at a discount, owing to the control which overhangs him and surrounds him.¹

The organization of clerical life also discourages anything but routine. The clergy, while they live on closer terms with their people, and especially the poorer people, than is the case with English clergy, are yet a class apart. The class is sharply divided into two divisions. The black clergy or monks form the governing part: from them are drawn all the bishops, and among them are to be found most of the main persons of clerical influence. The white clergy, on the other hand, the parish priests, represent the continuity of clerical life: for they are necessarily married. Moreover, their sons

¹ The general setting up of collegiate methods of government for the dioceses began in 1744: a consistory for the administration of the headless diocese of Moscow had been set up as early as 1722. The bishop and consistory are subject to the Holy Synod: the secretary of the consistory is not only the official of the diocesan, but is also immediately subject to the Procurator of the Holy Synod.

In recent years a demand has arisen for the alteration of the local diocesan government both in system and in name: and some reforms in procedure were made in 1910. See below, pp. 185 and ff.

and daughters are for the most part the rising generation of priests and deacons, and their prospective wives.¹

The system of education is designed to keep the class separate. In this, too, the clergy range apart. Their boys are educated in a seminary as being sons of clergy, and often regardless of whether they mean to keep to the tradition and be clergy too, or whether they mean at the end of their course to break with the tradition and go into other walks of life. The girls, too, very possibly are educated as the daughters of clergy in a diocesan school, and are there trained to be teachers and wives of priests and deacons. Such an intensive system has some advantages; but it makes such things as advance, development or reform very slow and difficult, because of its intensiveness. Were it not for the fact that some men pass out of other professions and enter the ranks of the clergy, and some priests pass, when celibacy becomes possible for them, out of the white into the black clergy, the whole would be even more rigid than it actually is.

It is important, however, to note some of the strong points of this position. The dual system of clergy secures that there is first a local ministry, closely linked to place and people, and venerated by them as representatives of God, as purveyors of worship, and dispensers of divine grace; and also secondly a mobile and detached ministry, living apart but in community, enjoying special facilities for learning, and upholding the ideal of the ascetic life just as the parish priest and his family hold up the ideal of the domestic Christian life. The dual system tends thus to secure that if the parochial system fails there is always the compensation afforded by the wide influence of monasteries and nunneries. If the monastic life becomes corrupt, or seems too remote and too specialized, there is in the village the healthy homely religion of the soil, congenial and dear to the

¹ The clergy were brought through the reforms initiated by Peter under a system of supervision by *blagobinnnye* or superintendents, corresponding in many respects to the rural deans of the West.

millions of peasants who make up the great strength of Russia.

The ecclesiastical projects of Peter were barely completed before his death. He left behind him much still to be settled, and circumstances not very favourable for settlement. A series of quick changes in the occupants of the throne followed.¹ Personal jealousies among the ecclesiastics joined with theological divergences; and during all the later years of Peter's protégé Theophan there was continual strife. Theophan succeeded in ousting his main rival Theodosi as early as 1725. Stephen Yavorski was already dead; but his disciples remained, and controversy, both ecclesiastical and theological, with them was perpetual. As long as he lived Theophan succeeded in maintaining the upper hand; and when he died beset by his enemies in 1736, the end came to several features of the church life of his period. He was the last survivor of the series of successful ecclesiastics from Little Russia. With him also there ended the short out-crop of sympathy with German protestantism. The theology and personnel of Greater Russia again came to the fore and reasserted itself.

Meanwhile, before leaving this period of occidentalizing influence, two unsuccessful attempts at the establishment of some agreement, or at least some points of contact, between the East and the West deserve a passing notice.

The first was with France and the Sorbonne. When Peter was in Paris (1717) a scheme was propounded to him by some Gallican theologians for a new *Unia* which should be anti-papal. On his return to Russia a document embodying the scheme was sent and laid before the church authorities. They realized, however, that they were dealing only with a section holding particular views: and the overtures were shelved on the ground

¹ Katharine, Peter's widow, was Empress only 1725-7. Their grandson, Peter II, only 1727-30. Then a change was made by turning to the line of Peter's elder brother, Ivan V, without much success, for the Empress Anna had an unpopular reign of ten years, and her great nephew, the infant Ivan VI, survived as Tsar only for a few months before he was dethroned in favour of Peter's daughter Elizabeth. She brought to the task some of the capacity and a good deal of the policy of her father, and succeeded in establishing a more stable government (1741-62). See table, p. 191.

that such matters concern Churches corporately, and not mere individual groups, and could not be settled without a decision of the Eastern Patriarchs.

The same authorities were slower to recognize the like defect in some overtures which were made to them about the same time by the English Nonjurors.

There had been a slender tradition of intercourse between England and the Eastern Church running through the seventeenth century. Interest here had originally been aroused by the abortive correspondence between Archbishop Abbot and the unhappy Cyril Lucar, Patriarch first of Alexandria and then of Constantinople. After his alleged lapse from Orthodoxy, England gave him some diplomatic protection in his troubles, through its envoy at the Porte; and the lasting token of his gratitude is to be seen at the British Museum in the famous Codex Alexandrinus of the Greek Bible.¹

More real theological intercourse had arisen out of enquiries, made by Dr. Covell when he was chaplain in Constantinople (1670-76), on behalf of a group of English Divines interested in the current French eucharistic controversy, and anxious to make sure about the Orthodox views. In 1672 an answer to his questions had been sent from a synod in Constantinople, and a similar document concerning the Holy Eucharist in particular had followed in 1691. A project for the establishment of a College at Oxford for needy Greek students made some little progress, and several visits of Greek bishops, refugees from the oppression of the Turk, kept alive the interest.

In 1716 one of these, Arsenius, Bishop of Thebais, served as intermediary between a tiny group of Nonjuror bishops and the Eastern Church, both Greek and Russian. The Tsar Peter himself was interested; and a series of

¹ See Neale, *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church* (Alexandria), ii, pp. 356 and ff. for Cyril Lucar. The correspondence began in 1617, and led to his sending Metrophanes Critopulos to England for an Oxford education. In 1621 Cyril became Patriarch of Constantinople, and from that time he was in perpetual struggles with the Latins and under suspicion among his own people as being a Calvinist, down to the time when he was strangled by order of the Sultan in 1638.

letters passed backwards and forwards, spread over a period of eight years. The correspondence itself is interesting; but it does not show either party in a very favourable light. In 1725 Archbishop Wake, who had recently become aware of what was going on, took the opportunity of a friendly intercourse with Chrysanthus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to explain to him the schismatic position of the Nonjurors. Already, however, the correspondence had come to an end. In Russia Peter had died, and the authorities had apparently themselves realized the true situation of the tiny group that called itself by the sounding title of "The Orthodox and Catholic Remnant of the British Churches."¹

¹ For a full account see G. Williams, *The Orthodox and the Nonjurors* (1868). Covel's account of his eastern sojourn, called *Some account of the present Greek Church* . . . appeared in 1722, by which time the interest in the matter had waned. It revived again on the publication in 1772 of *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia* by J. G. King, who was for some time English Chaplain at St. Petersburg. This book still holds the field as a standard work. A more recent and more authoritative translation of some of the Russian rites may be found in Hapgood, *Service Book* . . . (1906).

The nineteenth century showed a growing condition of mutual knowledge and respect between the English Church and the Russian Church. Between 1840 and 1855 Blackmore and Palmer were each in his way doing much to promote good feeling. The Crimean War brought a severe set-back. But in 1862 the American Anglicans took up the task; and in England in 1864 the *Eastern Church Association* was founded. In 1868 the Scottish Primus, Eden, was sent to visit Russia while George Williams visited the Greeks; and a new era of growth followed which lasted for a decade. Twenty years later (1893) the Association was re-established, and a series of important visits drew the Churches closer—especially (1896) the visit of Bishop Creighton at the Tsar's Coronation, (1897) of Archbishop Maclagan to Russia and of Archbishop Anthony of Finland to England for the Diamond Jubilee. In 1906 the *Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union* was founded, and in 1912 on the occasion of the visit of Members of Parliament and three Bishops to Oxford at the invitation of the Duma, a corresponding Society was founded in Russia. This has promoted Lectures in Russia by English visitors; and further plans were on foot when the war intervened. A large share in all this was taken by W. J. Birkbeck. See *Birkbeck and the Russian Church* (ed. Riley, 1917).

CHAPTER XI

THE OUTCOME OF LITURGICAL REFORM

WE must return to Nikon in order to follow out his more successful dealings, namely those connected with the reform of the service-books.

After the failure of the Stoglav Council to effect the necessary corrections, little was possible. Hermogen during his brief rule (1611-12) made arrangements for some revision in printing: but the press perished at the burning of Moscow; and no more was done until it was restored four years later, and experienced correctors were again appointed. They issued a revised *Manual* (*Triebnik*) in 1618. But personal jealousies united with popular conservative prejudice against them. Dionysi, the chief of them, was condemned at once by a synod, interned, and made the victim of much malicious ill-treatment; and his companions fared little better. But the appearance of a Greek patriarch upon the scene—Theophan of Jerusalem—put a different aspect on the matter; for he justified the revisers and procured their release.

Thenceforward, in spite of the opposition, the projects of revision went forward. The leaders of the revival of learning, both clerical and lay, were ranged on that side. The new revisers were not merely content with a correction of details, such as was suitable to mere readers for the printing press, but began to raise large questions concerning the accurate and uniform performance of the services. Nikon was associated with these from the time when he became archbishop of Novgorod. His advances there included the introduction of Greek chants, probably as a way of keeping out the western influences in music, which were coming in through Kiev: and also a revival of the ministry of preaching.

The Patriarch became alarmed; and parties were

beginning to form in opposition to one another. Nikon himself had been consecrated by Paisi, a visiting patriarch of Jerusalem; and his visit had once again called attention, not merely to mistakes, but also to points in which the Russian diverged from the Greek usages. Nikon thus conceived the task of bringing the Russian usages thoroughly into line. When he became Patriarch (1652), he was able to enlarge his sphere of operations, and to enlist much help from Greek sources and authorities.

Further visits of Greek patriarchs forwarded the design. Soon after Paisi there came Athanasius of Constantinople, and again in 1654-6 Makari of Antioch, whose attendant deacon Paul has left to posterity a vivid account of his travels.¹ Meanwhile a series of Councils was authorizing and issuing a new set of service-books.

The first of a set of three Councils, held about the correction of the service-books, met in the spring of 1654. From it twenty-six questions were sent to the new Patriarch Paisi at Constantinople. The replies were received at Moscow in the following year and submitted to a fresh Council then.² This gathering had the further advantages, of the presence of Makari, Patriarch of Antioch, and also of the use of a large collection of MSS. which Nikon had procured in order to form a proper standard for the work of revision. The work was therefore much advanced, and steps were taken against Paul, bishop of Kolomna, and the protopope John Neronov, who had opposed the revision at the earlier synod.

¹ See pages 114, 115, notes.

² The nature of this correspondence may be seen from the account given in Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, ii, 408 and ff. The first of the answers is a lengthy disquisition on the Liturgy: others are concerned with detailed points of the services. The twenty-fourth answer decided in favour of crossing with three fingers. "We all have the ancient custom and tradition of doing our reverence by putting together the first three fingers, to symbolize the Holy Trinity."

The letters from Constantinople were printed in the new *Skrijal* (directory) issued in October 1656.

The Acts of the Synod of 1654 were also there printed, and some account was given of the two succeeding synods—of Lent 1655, and May 11, 1656. Makari alludes to this synod in his travels (see the note following) in Palmer ii, 77 and f. The Acts with Nikon's speech made therat are *ibid.* V, Appx. xviii. The burden of the replies of the synod to the points propounded by Nikon was "that it is right and proper to correct the books, so as to make them agree with the old parchment Russian MS. books and with the Greek books, the rubric and the holy Fathers."

Simultaneously an attack was being made by Nikon against innovations in the form and style of ikons. There had come in of late through Kiev the influence of Latin religious art, and against this, as against every other tendency to Latinism, the patriarch was resolutely working.

Resistance in this matter had begun as early as 1654, when Nikon confiscated and destroyed many ikons of the new type, and provoked a reaction in their favour. A little later, as the new books began to come forth, a strong body of resistance to them began to be organized : and when the old books were confiscated the revolt openly broke out.

At the head of the opposition were some able men and zealous evangelists whom Nikon himself had brought forward and encouraged. Neronov, who was condemned for contumacy at the synod of 1654,¹ was a great preacher who drew the whole of the city to hear him in the Kazan Cathedral at Moscow. By his side stood the archpriest Avvakum, and other popular leaders, who did not hesitate to raise the cry of "heresy." The bringing forward of this extreme charge reveals the fact that the changes not only touched familiar and valued customs, but also dealt with points which had now for a century and longer been in more or less degree subjects of dispute, and had by now become fetishes of the conservative party.

The old Stoglav Council figured much in the con-

¹ An account of this Council is given in Makari's travels (Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, ii, 174 and ff). "This patriarch therefore, being a lover of Greece, conformed obediently; and said to the bishops and to the rest . . . 'I am a Russian, the son of a Russian, but my faith and religion are Greek.' Some also of the bishops conformed obediently . . . but others of them . . . demurred inwardly, saying within themselves, 'We will not alter our books, nor our rites and ceremonies, which we have received from of old.' But they had not the courage to speak thus openly; for the anger of the patriarch is not to be withstood."

The Patriarch of Antioch had already observed some of the Russian peculiar usages, and had called Nikon's attention to them. The points were seven : (i) consecration on a linen cloth instead of a proper *antimins*, (ii) a fourfold, not ninefold, setting out of the particles to be consecrated, (iii) a mistake in singing the creed, (iv) "They kiss the ikons only once or twice in the year," (v) "They do not receive the *antidora*," (vi) "They make the sign of the cross with an incorrect position of the fingers," (vii) Of late they have been re-baptizing the Poles.

At the synod Nikon went over the service explaining everything. Afterwards he distributed thousands of the new service-books, and more than 15,000 *antiminsia*.

troversy; for had it not authorized some of the very things, *e.g.* the Russian tradition as to "crossing," which were now being condemned? And why forsooth? Only in order to fall into line with Greeks, who were much suspected as to their Orthodoxy, and despised as being mere subjects of the Turk.

The wrath of Nikon fell heavily on the opposition. Its leaders were seized and banished to confinement in distant monasteries; and all this was done autocratically and without public enquiry, on the sole authority of the patriarch.

Thereupon the ferment spread to the masses. The monasteries gave them a lead. In 1657 the great Solovietski Monastery, infected by the rebels who had been sent thither for punishment, refused steadily to accept the new books into use. More serious still was the dogged resistance of the people. They were easily persuaded that the revision was a design of Latinism, that the end of the world was approaching, and the reign of Antichrist was begun. To men in this frame of mind persecution was only a corroboration and an encouragement. Men and women were ready to die for the old customs, and indeed eager to escape the reign of Antichrist.

During the time of Nikon's "abdication" the ferment went on unchecked. The enemies of the patriarch alternately blamed him for the absence of power to suppress the revolt, and then stirred up the Old-believers, as they began to be called, to bring their complaints against Nikon. But a little before his condemnation, in the first half of 1666, a synod was held which dealt with the leaders and with the situation generally. A number submitted, either then or during their subsequent internment; but Avvakum held out, was anathematized, degraded and banished. Finally a long Ordinance concerning the books and the usages was drawn up and disseminated as a guide for all the clergy.¹ At the end

¹ The Acts of the Council are published in full in *Dieiania Mosk. Soborov* (Moscow, 1905) and an analysis of them may be seen in Palmer, iv, 654-7, ii, 429, from Makari's *History of the Russian Schismatics*. Paisi's account of this Council is in Book II, chapters xxxi and xxxiii; Palmer, iii, 102-110.

of the year Nikon was condemned ; and the same Council, continued into 1667, besides electing Nikon's successor, confirmed the liturgical decisions of the previous year (reinforced by the presence of the two patriarchs), and went on to a very full handling not only of the liturgical disputes, but also of all sorts of urgent church questions. Those who resisted the revision were then formally anathematized, both clerical and lay alike.¹

This decision, not merely of the Russian, but in a sense of the Eastern Church, only hardened the opposition. Till then the Solovietski Monastery had merely kept the new books locked up. After the Council the monks were ordered to adopt them ; they refused, and fortified the monastery. After a brief correspondence with the Tsar, soldiers were sent to secure their submission. This they were quite unable to do. The rebellion grew to larger proportions, and still the attempts at coercion failed. The rebels maintained their opposition till January 1676, when, after an assault had proved unsuccessful, the monastic stronghold was betrayed to the besiegers.

The Council of 1667 marks the parting of the ways. Though the leaders were sent into prison, and remained there till they were put to death in 1681, the movement took definite shape, a definite schism began, and the Old-believers organized themselves in opposition to the official Church.

The unpopularity of Nikon on other grounds had, during his successful years, added to the opposition ; while at a later stage his fall and disgrace did not diminish it : for in this respect at any rate Nikon's policy was carried on, after he himself had been deposed and

¹ The Acts of the Council of 1667 form part of the same volume as the above. Palmer gives from Makari a summary of its bearing upon the liturgical controversy, ii, 431-3. Another analysis is at iii, 481-515, covering the whole ground, and 515-518.

One section deals with the ikons and is closely akin to the liturgical questions ; but others are quite separate. There is a chapter of twelve sections concerned with monastic life, another of five sections concerned with Latinism.

Several other groups deal with ecclesiastical discipline, and one with the erection of new sees. The last chapter but one concerns synods, and the last handles the thorny question of the monastic estates in general, and Nikon's foundations in particular.

Paisi gives an account of this Council in Book III, ch. xix-xxi : Palmer, iii, 284-300.

banished. Before very long the matter was, as has been noticed, taken up by the government; but that step only had the effect of setting the Old-believers against the government also. In fact, from all quarters, the opposition, far from decaying in course of time, went on steadily increasing.

A second great outburst of opposition followed close upon the innovations of Peter. Those who clung passionately to the old social and political order of Russia which Peter was destroying, made common cause with the ecclesiastical conservatives. They were as ready to suffer, in order to retain their beards and resist the accursed western custom of shaving, as the others had been, in order to retain the old way, and resist the new way, of spelling the name of Jesus, or of making the sign of the cross. Besides, the ecclesiastical innovations of Peter only deepened and widened the opposition in the Church's sphere, and rallied into one alliance all forms of ecclesiastical discontent. So the two oppositions became fused. The Tsar himself became identified with Antichrist; an anti-religious significance was attached to all his obnoxious innovations, and resistance to the government became a religious duty. Peter in dealing with the malcontents very wisely attempted to leave their religious opinions alone and compel only civil obedience; he also conceded to them a certain assured toleration under certain conditions. But the distinction that he tried to make meant nothing to them, and any other concession did little to reduce the dissidence either in numbers or in violence.

So Russian dissent arose; and so it persists to this day. Side by side with the schism of the Old-believers, as it developed finally out of the opposition to Nikon's reforms, there have since grown up many other sorts of dissent. They are partly connected with the original sort, and partly disconnected. Down to the present day the government has not been able to do much to reduce or recover the dissidents either by repression or by gentler methods.

The character of Russian dissent¹ is interesting not only for itself, but also because it makes it possible to understand better what is the normal religious habit of mind of Orthodox Russia. It may be taken that the dissent represents the normal features in an exaggerated and caricatured form—the excesses from which Orthodoxy has been able to save itself. So a glance at the exaggeration may help to interpret the well-balanced; and the abnormal may help to explain the normal.

It has already become clear that Russian dissent has developed in exactly the opposite direction from that which English dissent has taken. It is rigidly conservative. It attaches the utmost importance to the symbol, to the letter. The tradition is more sacred than anything else. The great virtue is tenacity. There emerge things here which in their sober form are, generally speaking, characteristic of the Russian religious mind; but are carried to an excess in Russian dissent. Again, the Old-believers have pushed their tenets to their extreme logical conclusions, regardless of the consequences. This characteristic is, in a soberer form, also very genuinely Russian, not only in relation to religion but in many other respects.

When the Old-believers seceded from the Church, they carried some priests with them, but no bishops. They began therefore their new organization without episcopacy—one of the essential parts of their Christian tradition. It was difficult for them to explain or justify this position in which the irony of fate had landed them. For a time they could say that the end of the world was so close that it did not matter. But time showed otherwise; and then the Old-believers split into two parties, called the *Popovshchina* and *Bezpopovshchina*—the party that maintained the necessity of priests and tried to recruit them from the official Church, and the

¹ The fullest English account of Russian dissent is to be found in A. F. Heard, *Russian Church and Russian Dissent* (London, 1887). The third volume of Beaulieu, *Empire of the Tsars* (English tr. 1893-6) is also illuminating; and the article by I. A. Hourwich, in *The Case of Russia*, 1905.



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party that was content to have none. The adherents of the latter soon were landed in a crueller irony of fate ; for, being without priests, they had to break yet more with the tradition ; they could not even use those unreformed service-books for which they had sacrificed everything.

So the *Bezpopovtsy* have drifted away from Orthodoxy, and tended to incorporate the wilder spirits of revolt against official religion, the extremists in mysticism, in asceticism and the like. It includes, indeed, many curious types, little religious bodies which are of great interest from the point of view of the morbid pathology of religion, but not calling for further discussion in connexion with the history of the Russian Church.

The *Popovtsy* are very different and form a valuable foil for the study of the Orthodox. In spite of the difficulties they managed for 150 years to recruit for themselves priests from the ranks of the Orthodox. This expedient was stopped in 1840 ; but six years after they acquired a deposed Bishop of Bosnia and established him in a see in Austrian Galicia ; so that they have had since then their own supply of clergy, and a somewhat furtive hierarchy of bishops.

But the establishment of this episcopate has cost them dear. It has had the result that the *Popovtsy* are broken up into three sections ; for all the repression and imprisonment that fell to the lot of the new bishops from the hands of the government did not keep them united. More generous treatment has also been shown them in the effort to end the schism. The anathema of 1667 has been definitely removed by the Holy Synod ; explanations have been tendered, offers to tolerate the peculiarities, in so far as they are not heretical, have been made, and so forth. But the schismatics have remained self-satisfied for the most part ; though some have returned to Orthodoxy and others have taken advantage of a compromise held out to them in 1800 by which they come back into the fold but keep the unreformed service-books.

The *Popovtsy* are scattered throughout the empire, but have their chief centre at Moscow. Their numerical strength lies in the peasants scattered over the more sparsely inhabited provinces, or grouped in colonies. Their financial and administrative strength lies in the merchant class; for they have, like the Society of Friends, shown a sturdiness of principle and a capacity for business which has made them very successful in commercial life.

Thus the saner branch of Russian dissent, both because of its numbers and because of its influence, is a considerable force in the country, though dissent all taken together forms probably no more than 2 per cent. of the Christian population.¹

All this history has had a profound formative influence upon the religious mind of the normal Russian. The liturgical controversies exemplify the fact that his religious interests are mainly centred in the worship. Dogmatic discussion has not the same interest for him. The main duty in church life is faithfulness to the tradition; and the typical individual does not wish to claim the right to have a private opinion of his own. Indeed, on the contrary, he is constitutionally suspicious of himself in all matters of religious judgment. In the sphere of worship equally he feels the subjective to be dangerous. Safety lies in clinging on to the objective. Piety is therefore expressed by observances rather than by feelings. Religion lives on acts, not sentiments. To such a mind not only is worship and institutional religion congenial; but it is most congenial when it is most objective.

So the Russian service is a drama, presented before the worshipper, and participated in by him. What he sees is an open representation of spiritual happenings, and his gaze rests upon it and dwells upon it. What he hears is the representation of heavenly sounds, and he is not stirred interiorly by them so much as held by them exteriorly.

¹ The percentage seems to be: Orthodox, 87; Roman Catholics, 11 (chiefly in Poland); and Sects, 2.

The great actions have their clear significance ; they are part of the drama. The drama may be the liturgy ; and if so it symbolizes at every successive point the manifested dealing of God with man, throughout the Incarnation and especially in the Passion. Or it may be some other service, less intrinsically dramatic. But even in that case it is dramatized for the Russian mind. All parts of it, small as well as large, are symbolical, and have their dramatic value at least in that way.

The worshipper's own contribution to the worship is also objective. A prayer involves a crossing, and a bow at least, if not a prostration. If the cross is held up, it is to be kissed, and the priest's hand, too, that holds it. The ikons, too, are to be kissed, or a candle is to be set before them. These external actions do not spoil prayer, nor must they take the place of it. But they mediate it.

So the Russian is prepared to do anything in church except sit. He will be active, but not passive. He does not feel constrained, because he is at home. In church he is in his Father's house and enjoying himself, while all that appeals to the senses from outside—in a full consecration of sight and hearing and smell and touch to holy worship—is bringing him into vital contact with the spiritual world.

He is at home also because he is in the midst of many generations of the members of his family. He does not have to conjure up the remembrance of them for himself ; the walls all round are eloquent reminders of them. The saints look out at him from their bright and gleaming ikons as from a blaze of glory ; and he pays his respects to them familiarly, but reverently. As he passes along through the ranks of them with a petition and a kiss for each, he is threading his way along an easy and familiar road, till he comes up to the climax—to the Royal Doors in the great screen and the representations of the Apostles, the Forerunner, St. Michael, the Blessed Virgin Mother of God ; and so to the Saviour Himself, the Mediator,

whose secret place is on the altar-throne, within the veil behind those Doors, but who comes forth from time to time encircled by the heavenly host to manifest Himself, to be sacrificed, and to give Himself to the faithful, and so unite them with the Father by the operation of the Holy Ghost.

Such things as these the Russian seems to understand instinctively, whether he be the smart officer in a spotless uniform, or the uncouth picturesque peasant in an old sheepskin who stands cheek by jowl with him, each alike intent on the moving scene.

He has a very keen sense of the first half of the Decalogue, the part that Anglo-Saxons tend to neglect. Therefore worship and prayer and confession of sin are to him the very air that he breathes. We may think ourselves better observers of the second half of the decalogue than he—better used to avoiding certain specific injuries to our neighbour and to observing some of the more legal forms of moral precept and self-restraint. But if we turn from the Old Covenant to the New—from the Decalogue to the Beatitudes—any self-satisfaction that we may have taken to ourselves from the comparison at once vanishes again. To the Russian Orthodox mind, poverty, meekness, compassion, mercy and the other lineaments of the man who is depicted by our Lord as blessed, are in fact the Christian ideals, admired in others and sought by each. The outlook is very different from that of the Anglo-Saxon religious man, by whom they are, to a large extent, neither admired nor coveted.

History as well as temperament has had a large share in producing these results; and the vast icebound inhospitable plain was bound to impress upon its inhabitants a different religious outlook from that which is formed in a self-contained and smiling group of islands. Strangely enough the Russian's love of the objective act does not lead him to frequency of communion. He is a communicant; he has been so ever since his baptism, and there is no large class of non-communicant

adherents ; but he communicates only at rare intervals. Frequent communion has never been part of the Russian tradition—not even among the monks and nuns. Attendance at the Liturgy is part of the tradition ; so it is celebrated on Sundays and Festivals and never without all the fullest possible ceremony and solemnity. There is no “low mass,” and there is no multiplication of masses. Beyond the obligation of Sundays and Festivals there is no general ideal of frequency in attending or in celebrating, any more than there is in communicating. Medieval Byzantine tradition in all these respects still holds the field, and has become the Russian tradition.

The power of such a tradition filling the air which the average Russian breathes from the cradle to the grave is very prevailing ; but it is not all-dominant. If so be that the tradition fails, religion itself seems to go. So a whole class in Russia, not large indeed in numbers but important through education and influence, has deserted the tradition and fallen wholly out of touch with religion. For such people as these mere religious instinct and tradition are not enough. They are people who must think and reason : and they have rebelled against a tradition of belief and practice which seemed to discourage thinking and to be afraid of reason. Throughout Russia there is a certain solid and fundamental measure of Christian doctrine which is taught in the schools and still more in the homes. The effect of it up to a certain point seems to permeate the national atmosphere, and to be imbibed by all. But the man or woman who finds this insufficient and wants more, has in many cases little chance of getting sufficient to satisfy the enquiring mind. Until recently public preaching and more advanced teaching have been rare. There is no general opportunity of further religious education, such as the Anglican preparation for confirmation affords, since all are confirmed immediately after baptism. Nor is there any crucial moment of “first communion,” for the little children are com-

municated constantly until they come to years of discretion; and then they drop to the infrequency of communion which prevails among the adults.

It cannot be denied that the alienation from religion of many in the best educated groups is a very serious menace to the future. But it must also be recognized that the Church is now becoming increasingly alive to the danger, and taking steps to counteract it.

Since, by history and temperament alike, worship has come to bear the main burden of responsibility for the maintenance of Russian religion, one of the most urgent questions in the future of the Church is this: How far will Russian worship be able to retain the hold, which it has had in the past, on people of advancing education, of great critical capacity, and of rather relentless logic? Is it not too medieval—too superstitious?

Now if superstition means anything real, and is not merely a word used to describe beliefs that one does not share, it means the toleration of some second-best thing in place of the best available, the retaining of religious views and observances which ought to have made way for something better. One of the most remarkable features of Russian religion is the way in which it has avoided this snare. Any one who hears the music must realize that Russia has never descended to vulgarizing it, through the mistaken idea that vulgar music is more popular. Meretricious music had a brief day in the eighteenth century; but that day is closed.

Any one who looks at the ikons sees the severe Byzantine types preserved in a sort of puritan religious prudery. If he contrasts them with the sentimental Madonnas of the West, sometimes even decked with real hair and sham jewels so as to attract the simple, or with the vapid plaster-of-Paris saints made to stimulate unhealthy devotion, he will say, No, it is not the Russian who is superstitious. Even the wonder-working ikon, whose cult sounds perhaps most questionable, is at any rate

not fitted with machinery to work the miracle, like its western medieval decadent counterpart, but is just one of these same severe unearthly representations of things heavenly, one round which there has gathered an unusually large amount of devotion to the heavenly original.

Again the relics show the same thing : they are not, as a rule, bits and scraps and scrapings, hawked about like so many talismans, but simply the bodies of the saints lying uncorrupt among their own people, and venerated as precious heirlooms of the family.

The church may be a very homely building, its congregation poor, its priest very homely and of peasant stock ; its furniture may be inexpensive, its resources meagre, and its attainment small ; but the worship will be the best that the village can give. Nothing second-rate is willingly tolerated : the mysteries are never shorn of their dramatic glory, nor of their corporate significance. The Liturgy never becomes a mere priestly privilege, the mysteries are not brought down from the heavenly places to be muttered in a corner.

As with the ceremonial so with the doctrine. The Russian Church has never overstrained or exaggerated its teaching about the Holy Eucharist or other sacraments, so that there might seem to be claimed for them a sort of magical efficacy.

On the contrary, it might appear (at least from a western scholastical point of view) rather to leave things but ill-defined, and to lack precision and definiteness. No emphasis is laid in the Liturgy on a precise moment of consecration, or a highly localized recognition of the presence of Christ. No second-rate expedients for stimulating devotion to the Blessed Sacrament are current—that is, the superstitious temper is studiously avoided.

Thus Russian worship holds its people, and will continue to hold them, not by unworthy cheapening, not by an iron grip of obligation, or by the sordid bribery of ecclesiastical rewards, but by the bonds of love.

In church the people find their happiness. The hours which they spend there are their best hours : for they find themselves transported, rich and poor, educated and uneducated alike, into the near presence of God.

CHAPTER XII

EXPANSION AFTER PETER

THE history of modern Russia begins with Peter the Great, and it is to a large extent the history of a great expansion. Already before his day there had been no lack of this. Russia had enjoyed plenty of opportunity for showing its imperial capacity for assimilating other ways and other peoples. But hitherto nearly the whole of this extension had moved in the direction of Asia. The Tartars had been overcome bit by bit; and when the movement was not eastward, it was chiefly southward. The actual conquest of Siberia had begun in the days of Ivan the Terrible; and by the time that Peter was firmly seated on the throne, the Russian arms had penetrated to the furthest boundaries of north-eastern Asia. Already, that is to say, Russia in Asia existed; but Russia in Europe hardly as yet, only a Russia on the confines of Europe, which hitherto had faced mainly southward and eastward.

Peter was the chief author of its change of outlook. Before this time, it is true, Russia had been in some sort of touch with western Europe, for 150 years. But in the sixteenth century the westerner who travelled to Russia was engaged on a voyage of discovery. Herberstein the German in 1526, and the first English visitors who came a quarter of a century later, were pioneers. Muscovy was still an unexplored country, situated on the way to Tartary, and a convenient stopping-place in a journey to the Great Khan. It then was found to have attractions of its own. Then considerable commercial relationships grew up between England and Russia; and owing to the enterprise of the Muscovy Company a steady volume of trade developed alongside

of the interchange of alternating politenesses and tiffs which characterized the intercourse of our Queen Elizabeth with savage old Ivan. Are they not recorded in the fascinating pages of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*?

These relations were developed under Theodore and Boris, but began to languish again in the seventeenth century. When Michael was established on the throne, he again sought the friendship of the English crown; but soon neither in Russia nor in England were circumstances favourable to much further development of intercourse.¹ In the second half of the century a further tide of western influences began to find their way into Russia. But they were unpopular with the people; and the Tsars, though personally favourable to such influences, were not themselves strong enough to overcome the native prejudices against them. It needed all the personal force of character and the brusque methods of Peter to overcome them, and turn the eyes of Russia definitely round. For Peter divined the importance of the change: his journeys in Europe convinced him that his judgment was right, till he came to covet the lands to the westward and the sea still more. He saw the supreme importance for his country of an outlet on the Baltic. Therefore, while he might well wish to recover the old Slav territories that had been lost to Lithuania and Poland, he was yet more set on the conquest of Letts and Finns, and the transformation of their territory into Baltic provinces of Russia.

¹ There is no satisfactory English book on the early English relations with Russia. Tolstoi gathered valuable documents in his *First Forty Years of Intercourse, 1553-1593* (Petrograd, 1875); but more are available. For example, the important Charter of Theodore to the English Merchants, reproduced in part at page 94, is not included; nor is it in Page's very slight effort, *The Russia Company from 1553-1660*. This should also have included the letter of credence sent by Michael with his ambassadors in 1617; the original is in Brit. Mus. MSS. Nero B. xi, f. 320. References to these envoys are to be found in *State Papers Domestic* of that year and the following; and elsewhere there are similar references to others of the series of ambassadors that passed to and fro. Michael's chief object in 1617 seems to have been to borrow £60,000. See *Obzov*.

Interesting documents in the Archives at Moscow are described, and some of them printed, in an article by I. Lubimenko in *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxxii, 92 and ff. (Jan. 1917).

See also Gerson, *Organization and Early History of the Muscovy Company*.

Meanwhile he was not oblivious of the east, nor even indifferent to the value of other outlets in the north; and his imagination ran even to the Northern Pacific, as his expedition to Central Asia and his abortive dealings with China clearly showed.

But such expansion was only to be secured by an inner transformation also, which should make Russia European in its arts and forces and civilization. So Peter encouraged the advent of the foreigner and utilized him in many capacities. He discouraged the old Russian traditions and trampled upon the inherited prejudices. He transformed the organization of the State, reconstructing it upon German models; and he forced the Church to follow suit.

His immediate successors¹ carried on the germanizing policy, being themselves under German tutelage. The squabbles that weakened the imperial government were reproduced in the ecclesiastical sphere. Meanwhile the position of the Church steadily deteriorated, and its government became more and more Erastian. The Synod was subordinated first to one and then to another government department, in 1726 to a "Supreme Council," or in 1731 to a Cabinet of Ministers.

Some relief to this deplorable position came when, sixteen years after the death of Peter, his diadem came back after diverse wanderings to rest upon the head of his daughter Elizabeth. She, during the twenty years of her reign (1741-1762), did much to recover the Russian tradition. Though imbued in many ways with the spirit of her father, she was more national and more orthodox. Just as the English Queen Elizabeth in some ways redressed the balance in the relationship of Church and State which Henry had upset, so the Russian Elizabeth, also to a limited degree, amended the work of her father in this same sphere. The Church hailed her advent as a deliverance, the quarrels died out and religion revived. Church government was amended by the restoration to Moscow of its see, which had been sup-

¹ See the table of the Romanov House on p. 191.

pressed since the abolition of the patriarchate; and a see was set up at Petrograd. The Holy Synod was set free from its subordination to a civil department (1742) by the abolition of the Cabinet of Ministers, and was restored to its position as a governing body. The possessions of the clergy were also restored to them and the financial control again was put in the hands of the Synod. These measures were very valuable, though they fell short of the demands for church reform which the leading ecclesiastics put forward for the Empress's approval.¹

The enlargement of outlook which Peter introduced was not without its effect on the Church; and although much of his internal policy tended to the weakening of religious power and effort, yet the Church was able in some degree to follow the State in its development and expand side by side with it. Already by tradition Russia was a missionary nation and its Church a missionary church. In the early period of evangelization it has been shown already how the monasteries were the chief evangelistic agencies. From the earliest days of Russia's conversion, these outposts were being pushed forward, civilizing and Christianizing, across the great open spaces, over the interminable steppes, and even up to the cold sea in the inhospitable north. Where any less concentrated or less continuous agency would have been useless, they succeeded, setting up a warm centre of light in a wide and cold area of darkness, and gradually extending their influence until the district was won.²

¹ The Synod itself wished for the restoration of the patriarchate, or, failing that, for a much more complete liberation of itself from subordination to the State; but Elizabeth would not go so far. Indeed, in reply to the demand for the abolition of the office of *Ober-procurator*, she merely appointed to it a specially masterful representative of the imperial authority in the person of Shakhovskii. See Znam. 334.

² The Solovietski Monastery is a good instance of the northward work of evangelization, working under the most difficult circumstances. It was founded in 1429 by Herman and Sabbati, hermits from Bielo-ozero, on a small island in the White Sea; and served as the base of operations among the Laplanders and other tribes along the coasts. In the sixteenth century its great missionaries, headed by Theodoret, pushed up to the extreme north of the continent; and Theodoret is credited with thousands of converts.

The missionary work had not been content merely to go hand in hand with civil rule, but it had also gone in advance of it and beyond it. The Tartars were already christianized in part before they were beaten off; and when the hour of political emancipation came, and the support of a conquering government was available for the Church, the effect of the missionary effort was naturally enhanced. So it became the traditional policy of the State to support and encourage the Church in its missionary efforts; and Peter, with his zeal for expansion, was more zealous in maintaining this tradition and seconding the Church's efforts towards the circumference than in doing justice to its work at and around the centre.

A second period of missionary enterprise may be said to have begun with the establishment of the imperial power in the sixteenth century, and to coincide with the earlier part of the political expansion.¹

Just as the conquest of Perm in 1472 had made possible the development of the work of Stephen of Perm in that area, so the conquest of Kazan in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556 opened up to the Church an area which had been tightly closed under the rule of the Tartar Khans. The despatch of Bishop Guri and the first clergy in 1555 was more like the despatch of an ambassador or an army than the dismissal of mere missionaries. The men were carefully chosen; Guri was of noble birth and of high reputation as a leader. Two of his companions, like

It also had a military importance, for it maintained an army of defence, and served for an outpost against the Swedes.

The present buildings are to a large extent those erected by Philip, who was higumen until he went in 1566 to be metropolitan of Moscow and to be deposed and murdered by Ivan IV at Otroch near Tver. The walls, erected in 1584, witnessed the long siege of the monastery when it held out against Nikon's Reformed Service-books, 1667-1676.

¹ On the subject of Russian Missions see E. Smirnov, *Russian Orthodox Missions* (London, 1903). His summary of the situation in Siberia is as follows:—In tribal respects the natives were subdivided (as they are to this day) into three chief groups: (i) the Finnish, whose religion is primitive Shamanism, (ii) the Mongolian, containing many who adopted Lamaism introduced by Kublai Khan in the early thirteenth century, and (iii) the Turco-Tartar, including many who in the sixteenth century adopted Islam: *op. cit.* p. 7.

See also the little summary of Mrs. Edwards, *Conquests of the Russian Church* (published by S.P.G., 1917).

himself, have been canonized, *viz.*, his successor German, and Varsonophi, afterwards bishop of Tver. The latter was of special value to the mission because he had learnt the Tartar language and their Moslem customs when imprisoned in the Crimea as a youth of seventeen. There was a brilliant start under these auspices, but after German's death in 1567 the mission became much less effective. New work thereupon began to open out in the southern direction through the conquest of Astrakhan; but this too had only moderate success at first.

In the seventeenth century the work went on uneventfully. The government favoured converts at the expense of heathen; and this policy no doubt tended to the extension of Christianity, though it produced a very poor kind of convert, and gave occasion to great relapses.

A third period of missionary enterprise coincides with the new era introduced by Peter. In the area beyond the Volga the work centred round Kazan; and Tikhon, who was metropolitan there from 1699 to 1724, set the mission on better lines. The special characteristic of his improved methods lay in his care for the new converts. They were drawn far more from heathenism than from Islam, and therefore from a low stage of civilization. A new society was formed to provide for the education of converts; and enterprises of this sort, together with schools, began to spread. In consequence, both the quality and the quantity of converts improved; and in time a central organization arose to develop the undertaking through several provinces. The government of Elizabeth applied considerable pressure; and under the double influence 430,000 new converts were made in the twenty-one years of her reign.

Successful evangelistic work was also at this period being carried on among the Kalmyks. Here the missionary was confronted with a different creed, *viz.* Lamaism. But in both spheres the methods were still defective. The pressure of government produced large numbers

of converts, too large in fact for the clergy of the missions to be able to handle and train. When the pressure lessened, or a rival pressure made itself felt, the converts lapsed back in large numbers to the heathenism which they had never really renounced. A reaction marked the closing years of Elizabeth's reign; and when Katharine succeeded, a change of policy ensued, which weakened, and almost destroyed the missionary work.

In Siberia the process of colonization had been going on slowly ever since the occupation began in the days of Yermak (1582). The government encouraged the spread of Christianity, fostered the emigrants, and gave exemptions and favours to converts. In 1620 the see of Tobolsk was founded; and throughout the rest of the seventeenth century a quiet work of extension went on, in which monasteries played, as usual, a prominent part.¹ An apparent set-back occurred owing to the hostility of China and its successful attacks upon the Russian stations. But these turned out for the best; since, on the cession of the Amur provinces to China in 1689, some who were taken prisoners to Peking began missionary work there in a suburb, and in 1695 the metropolitan of Tobolsk was able to equip a mission there in consequence.

In 1702 the work entered upon the third period of missionary activity under the guidance of a great metropolitan of Tobolsk, Philothei Leshchinski. These efforts received a considerable impulse also from Peter himself, who gave instructions as to the conduct of the mission, and particularly urged that conversions should be effected by persuasion only, and not by force. The eighteen years of Philothei's active episcopate were broken by an interval which he spent in monastic retirement owing to sickness; but he emerged from this in 1715, on the death of his successor, with zeal unimpaired, to resume his apostolic labours, and his extended journeys,

¹ Monastic life began in Siberia at the end of the sixteenth century: and four great missionary monasteries were founded there in the first quarter of the seventeenth. See Palmieri in *The East and the West*, July 1916.

and to attain ultimately a success, which was at first almost wholly denied to him. Among his successors Silvester Globatski (1726-1755) showed an equal zeal, but less discretion. The history of the last years of Elizabeth's reign shows here, as in the Kazan district, a decay, partly due to the fact that the government became alarmed at the opposition which the missionaries were arousing. Here, too, the change of policy brought in by Katharine produced the same result, namely the decline of the work.

The progress in Siberia was marked by the extension of the episcopate. In 1707 a bishop of Irkutsk had been appointed to act as coadjutor to the bishop of Tobolsk; and twenty years later the area was divided, and Irkutsk became an independent see, supervising eastern Siberia. In 1721 a bishop had been sent to the Orthodox mission in Pekin: but he was prevented by the Jesuit missionaries there from coming in. Seven years later an arrangement was made between China and Russia which provided for the spiritual needs of the Russians in Pekin, but discountenanced all missionary propaganda there.

A new period of missionary activity began after Katharine's time was over, which extended over the nineteenth century; but the account of this must be reserved till a later chapter.

It is now time to turn about so as to consider the ecclesiastical situation on the western border of Russia and follow the troubled story of Polish Orthodoxy.

While Stephen Yavorski and Theophan were working out Peter's programme of church reform and innovation in Great Russia, controversy had never ceased in the Slav area that remained under the rule of Poland. Peter was continually trying to secure better terms for the Orthodox who lived in that area; for in the treaty of 1686 Russia had, in some degree, been recognized as their protector. His efforts, however, were neither very vigorous nor very successful. Poland had since 1572 been mainly governed, so far as it was governed

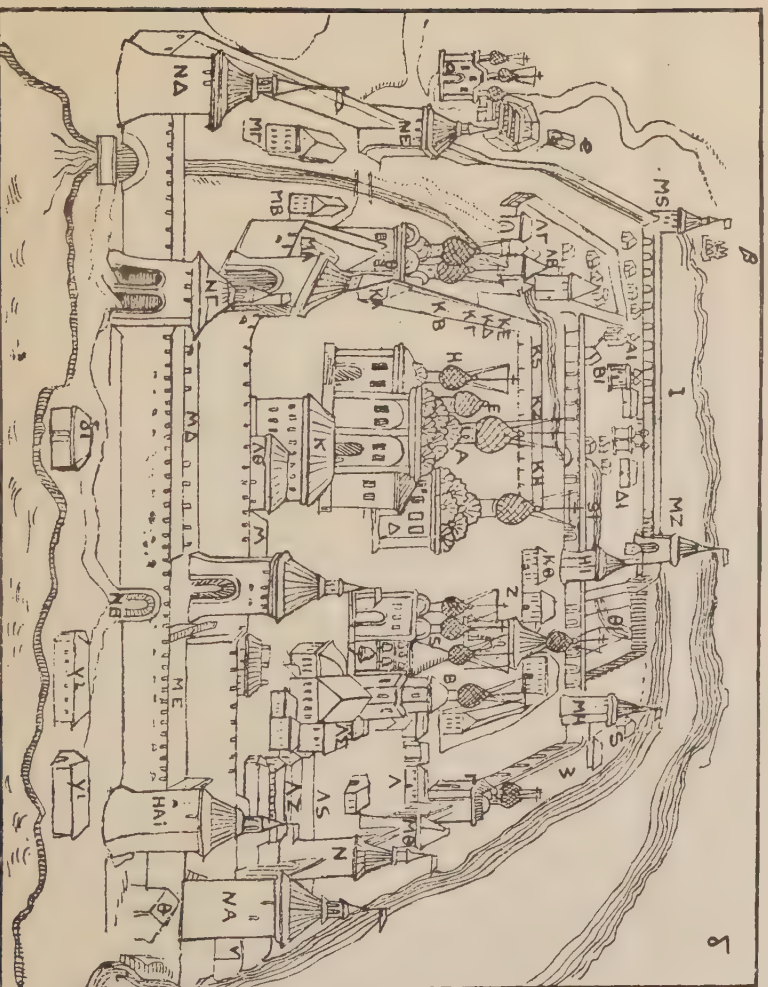
Explanations of Plan of the Monastery of St. Cyril at Bielo-Ozero.

- (1) WITHIN THE MONASTIC WALLS.
- A Church of the Annunciation of the Mother of God.
 - B Church of the Presentation of the Mother of God.
 - F Church of the Transfiguration over the Vorotnaia door.
 - A Church of Cyril the Wonder-worker.
 - E Church of Prince Vladimir.
 - Z Church of Gabriel the Archangel.
 - Z Infirmary Church of Euthymius the Great.
 - H Church of Epiphanius of Cyprus.
 - Θ Holy Gate and Church of St. John Climacus.
 - I Monastery of St. John the Forerunner.
 - AI Chapel of the Founder.
 - BI Church of St. John the Forerunner.
 - PI Church of Sergei of Radonej the Wonder-worker.
 - AI Hospital.
 - EI Forge.
 - ZI Barns.
 - ZI Granary.
 - HI New Granary.
 - ΘI Kitchen Garden.
 - K Cell of the Archimandrite.

- KA Cell of the Treasurer.
- KB Cell of the Cellarer.
- KI Office of the Cellarer.
- KA New cells.
- KE Cell of the Granarer (?) (jitennoi).
- KC, KZ Cells of the Popes.
- KH Cell of the Sacristan.
- KΘ Cells of the Brethren.
- A Bread House.
- AA Flour Store.
- AB Mill.
- AI Mill Gates.
- AD Malt House.
- AE Drying House.
- AC Kitchen.
- AZ Armoury.
- AH Chornia.
- AE Cellars.
- M Guard Chamber.
- MA Exchange (?) (Palata Kazennaia).
- MB Ikonata.
- MT Guest House.
- MA Prisons.
- ME Carpenter's Shop.
- MC Vologda Tower.
- MZ Tower of the Forge.
- MH Tower of the Roll or Corner Tower.

- MΘ Bread Tower.
- N Kitchen Tower.
- NA Tower of the Dragnet.
- NA Little Tower of the Dragnet or Carpenter's Tower.
- NB Trinity Gate.
- NT Slanting Tower.
- NA Thrapontov Tower.
- NE Kazan Gate.

- (2) OUTSIDE THE MONASTIC WALLS.
- a Church of Our Lady of Kazan.
 - β Church of St. Andrew.
 - ly Church of St. Modestius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem.
 - δ Guest House.
 - ε Toll House.
 - ζ Roll Warehouse.
 - η Bath.
 - η Dragnet Cottage.
 - θ Dragnet Warehouse.
 - ι Mill.
 - [α Stables].
 - [β " "].
 - γ Workers' quarters.
 - δ Smithy.



THE KYRILLOV MONASTERY AT BIELO-OZERO.

at all, by foreign rulers. Two electors of Saxony, Augustus II and III, were kings of Poland from 1697 to 1763; but the power was divided among a crowd of turbulent magnates, who did as they pleased in their own areas and were in most cases partisans of Roman Catholicism. Protests, therefore, whether from Peter or from his successor, were of no avail, and even promises of amendment from the Crown were nugatory. The four Orthodox bishops, who had been recognized by the treaty of 1686, were reduced in number, first to two (Lutsk and Mogilev), and then to one; and the solitary survivor had great difficulty in maintaining his ground against the veiled or open opposition of the government and the turbulent attacks of the magnates and the mob. The Uniats everywhere supplanted the Orthodox, whose churches, ceremonies, possessions and lives were at the mercy of the Jesuits and their pupils, and subject to every sort of maltreatment from the fanatics.¹

The Polish disorder reached its height at the death of Augustus III in 1763. A year earlier Katharine had become empress; and at her coronation George Konisski, the surviving bishop, had made a desperate appeal to her for help. These events mark the turn of the tide. Russia secured the election of a Pole (Stanislas Poniatovski) as king, and George turned also to him for redress. Hitherto the only help available from Russia had been from the bishop of Yaroslavl, who had under his charge the Orthodox parishes in the Ukraine. This had been of considerable value, and had at least provided clergy for the Polish Orthodox, and funds for building or rebuilding churches. Now for a moment there seemed a hope of better things, for the king listened to the protest which George Konisski made at the Polish Diet in 1765, and promised redress. This hope was, however,

¹ The attacks were specially made against the one surviving bishop. Silvester (1707-1728) survived several attacks upon his life. His successor George Konisski had more romantic escapes. Once he was carried out of the town hidden in a manure cart. Another time his house was sacked by the pupils of the Jesuit School and he himself only escaped by hiding in the cellar. Konisski was author of the celebrated Russian pastoral treatise *On the duty of Parish Priests*, of which a translation is given in Blackmore, *Doctrines of the Russian Church* (London, 1845).

crushed by the Diet in the year following ; for it refused toleration to Orthodoxy. Thereupon the Ukraine revolted, and fierce reprisals took place. Russia was compelled to intervene in 1768. The policy of Katharine was impregnated with that pseudo-liberalism which encourages every sort of religion except its own ; her intervention, therefore, was of very little value, and the Orthodox were worse off after the rising than before.

In 1772 the first partition of Poland put a part of the area in Russian hands. But Katharine was more concerned to conciliate the Roman Catholic nobles than to help the Orthodox. Romanism was encouraged ; and the Jesuits, who had recently been suppressed by the Papacy, were encouraged to erect a strong base of operations at Polotsk. George Koniski had considerable difficulty in getting leave for Uniats to return to Orthodoxy. The change was only sanctioned at first in the case of whole parishes : but even under these hampering conditions 130,000 of them returned.

When the second and third partitions of Poland took place in 1793 and 1795, Russia recovered all its old territory except Galicia, which fell to Austria. In the interval Katharine modified her policy ; and when in 1794 free permission was given to the Uniats to become Orthodox again, two millions availed themselves of it in the brief space before her death in 1796. These transferences were evidently not due, at any rate at this period, to Russian pressure, but only to the removal of the Polish pressure in the opposite direction.

In the five years of Paul's reign great favour was shown to Roman Catholics and Jesuits. Reversion from the *Unia* to Orthodoxy ceased ; the Uniats were kept in strict subordination to the Roman Catholic governing College and were allowed no independence. This state of things continued also in the early days of Alexander I, when Latinism was not indeed favoured, but freely tolerated ; and its influence extended far and wide. But after the Napoleonic wars the new Russia demanded a new outlook. The Jesuits were ejected. The Uniats

were given independence and were encouraged to use their freedom from Latin control in order to work for reunion with the Orthodox. The pressure of the government was thenceforward definitely in that direction; and a group of bishops came into power whose object was to effect the reunion. Finally a Council held at Polotsk (1839) decided in favour of return; and three bishops with most of the Uniat clergy of White Russia and a million and a half of adherents were reconciled. Thirty-five years later a similar movement in the diocese of Kholm brought back another half million. In the last half of the nineteenth century the Russian government exerted very strong political pressure to favour Orthodoxy as against Roman Catholicism or the *Unia*; so that at present few Uniats survive except in the Austrian territory of Galicia.

CHAPTER XIII

PROCURATORS AND METROPOLITANS

A VERY different stage of Russia's development opens with the accession of Katharine II. A sudden turn in the wheel of fortune brought her into power, and caused the country thereupon to face a new outlook. For Katharine, though herself by origin a German princess, was in her sympathies French; and her reign (1762-1796) was increasingly dominated by the ideas of the Encyclopaedists and by the radical principles which prepared the way for the French Revolution.

The brilliant court which the Empress held at Petrograd was of a cosmopolitan temper. The new city of Peter had never been Russian in its character. Its founder meant it to be European, and in that respect to be contrasted with Moscow. His successors carried on the tradition which he had set: and the Church of the capital followed suit. Outward signs of this were evident, for example in the music and in the architecture. The old Russian church music went out of favour; and the Court choir, trained in Italy or upon Italian models, set a foreign fashion in music, and sang services composed by Galuppi the Venetian master, or Sarti whom Katharine lured from Milan to spend eighteen years in her capital. This Italian influence dominated even the native church composers until the return was made to Russian tradition in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The great churches erected in Petrograd show the same cosmopolitan taste. The Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul in the Fortress goes back to Peter's own day, and is naturally exotic. The Kazan Cathedral was built

in the early years of the nineteenth century to enshrine the wonder-working ikon of the Mother of God which was found at Kazan in 1579 and brought by Peter to his new city in 1710 : it is a conscious imitation of St. Peter's at Rome. The Cathedral of St. Isaac, begun a few years later, is equally foreign in sentiment though magnificent in design and execution. Recently, however, in this department too there has been even in Petrograd a reversion to the national and traditional style. It may be seen exemplified in the imposing Church of the Resurrection built in memory of Alexander II and over the spot where he was assassinated in 1881 ; or, better still, in the little gem of a church more recently built in the New Admiralty on the English Quay to the memory of the sailors who fell in the fatal war with Japan, 1904-5.

The inner working of the Church was no less transformed under these new influences. A more constructive and philosophical form of Erastianism now succeeded the practical preponderance of the State over the Church which Peter had set up. There was not much organic change, but the policy was altered. The laicization of church property was brought about at last in 1764, and this, no doubt, was a great innovation.¹ But the spirit that lay behind it was more novel still—the spirit of

¹ According to the new schemes of Peter, the Holy Synod had recovered control over the church estates by having the " Monastic Department " subordinated to it, and had been entrusted with the supervision of church finance in general. But the change was not a great gain for the Church. The old administration survived which grudgingly gave minimum grants to the church institutions and kept the most possible for the needs of the State. The transition from this position to that of a secularization of the church property was therefore not a large step. The change which set up an " Economic College " instead of the Monastic Department, 1726, was a further disadvantage to the Church, for the new management cared even less for the church needs than the old one had done. Elizabeth made a temporary effort to recover its own for the Church ; but Peter III took definite steps towards secularization which were completed by Katharine. A certain sum was assigned to the upkeep of church-officers, buildings and institutions which had owned the estates ; but by far the largest part of the property flowed into the coffers of the State. Nothing was done to help the slender resources of the ordinary parish church, which subsisted mainly on local contributions.

The robbery was not allowed to take place without a protest being made ; but Empress and Synod vied with one another in condemnation of the bold spirit who made it, Arseni (Matsieevich), metropolitan of Rostov. After a series of trials, imprisonments and degradations he died in prison at Reval in 1772. See Znam. 353-7, and Snegiriev.

indifference to religion, and the theory that the part of the State is to be not merely tolerant of religious beliefs, but disinterested or even uninterested with regard to them all. There went with this a change in the type of ecclesiastic. Hitherto men belonging to the school of Little Russia had been in favour, as being more enlightened than their contemporaries in Greater Russia. But by now the higher level of education had become general. The Little Russians inherited from their Polish origin at least the remains of a theory of the relation of Church and State which was now unpalatable to the authorities: consequently the Great Russians were now found more amenable on this point, and more ready to acquiesce in the dominance of the State over the Church. The discrediting of the Little Russians in the eyes of the government was completed by the protest which their leader Arseni, metropolitan of Rostov, made in vain against the secularization of church property. The other party came into power, but were in fact very powerless. The reign of Katharine was a period of irreligious inefficiency and immoral glitter. Plans there were in plenty, but no principles; and therefore the plans were ineffective. The new Code proposed was never carried into effect; the new schemes for education were abortive.

In such an atmosphere as that which Katharine created, even the most vigorous church effort was bound to languish; and, as will be seen shortly, missionary expansion was definitely hindered and suppressed. Such extension as there was came from the enlargement of the empire. In 1783 the Crimea was acquired; and the frontiers were also continually advancing eastward and towards the Caucasus.

But in spite of the fact that a cold dead hand seemed to have been laid upon the heart of the Church, there was life enough in it to contend against the threatening of paralysis, and vitality enough to produce some great ecclesiastics.

When Theophan, the last of Peter's ecclesiastical

leaders, was dead, the drab rule of the Synod prevailed. If there was any outstanding figure in the ecclesiastical world, it was for the time more likely to be the lay procurator than a metropolitan. The position of the Holy Synod itself was constantly changing. The ameliorations made in it by Elizabeth were linked with the tenure of the office of procurator by Shakhovski, who restored internal order and efficiency with a strong hand.

The radical views of Katharine II were represented by her Procurator Melissin, famous for his protestant tendencies and his schemes of secularization. The change from the views of that date to the more liberal ideas of the nineteenth century coincided with the tenure of Golitsyn, a man who, if he was not religious, was at least not anti-religious, and was anxious to make the Holy Synod an efficient institution.

Side by side with these procurators there stand out from a somewhat uneventful ecclesiastical landscape two great metropolitans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively, namely Platon and Philaret. Between them they cover the century from the accession of Katharine in 1762 down to the great reforms of Alexander II carried out in the "sixties" of the nineteenth century. The two men were in many ways similar, and their careers also exhibit many points of analogy. Both were deep theologians whose writings were taken as highly authoritative; both shone as distinguished preachers. Each of them after a period of prominence fell into disfavour, and spent his final years in retirement: in each case also the retirement did not bring with it obscurity, but a quiet state of dignity, remote from the bustle of active administrative life, and all the more suitable on that account to be the source of a quiet but powerful and wide-reaching influence.

Platon (Levshin) was Muscovite in origin; and he came to the front at the point when the prominence of Little Russians in ecclesiastical affairs was waning and

the Great Russians were coming back into authority. He was already Rector of the Academy in the Troitski Monastery at Katharine's accession; and when she visited the monastery in 1763 he attracted her attention by the sermon which he preached. He was only thirty-one when he was called to be a member of the Holy Synod in 1768. Two years later he was made bishop of Tver, and at the same time he became the tutor of Katharine's son and heir, Paul. He was called to rule over the diocese of Moscow in 1775 as archbishop, and thereupon his period of chief influence began. His many-sided activities benefited not only his diocese and its educational establishments, but also the Russian Church as a whole. His sermons were not only eagerly heard, but published and widely read. His theological writings were greatly valued, especially his manuals of popular instruction, and the *Orthodox Doctrine*, written in catechetical form and first published in 1765. This book and his two shorter catechisms have acquired the position of authoritative text-books, and standards of Russian Orthodoxy. They held the field in this capacity until the similar works of Philaret appeared half a century later; and even then Platon's writings were not entirely superseded.

Platon was also the father of Russian Church History. In 1778 the Holy Synod set about the collection of ecclesiastical MSS. buried in the various monastic libraries. Platon was principally responsible for this; and for the publication of Chronicles and other documents which thereupon ensued. He also utilized these sources for historical writing and based on them the first attempt at a scientific history of the Russian Church.¹

Hitherto he had been liberal enough to go a good way with the radical ecclesiastical policy of Katharine.

¹ The *Orthodox Doctrine* is printed in an English translation by R. Pinkerton in his *Present State of the Greek Church in Russia* (Edinburgh, 1814). It forms the bulk of the book, the first 35 pp. being devoted to a descriptive introduction, and the appendix, pp. 279-339, to an account of the Sects. The two catechisms of Platon were issued in 1766 and 1776. Palmieri, *Theol. Dogm. Orth.* i, 167-9, 181. Previously a catechism of Peter's day held the field; see J. T. Phillips, *The Russian Catechism* (London, 1725)². Platon's *Short History of the Russian Church* was first published in two volumes in 1805.

But he could not go the whole way : and the Empress found a more amenable prelate in his colleague at Petrograd, Gabriel Petrov. Platon therefore began to fall out of favour. A sign of this appeared in 1783 when the metropolitanical dignity, suppressed since the days of Peter's inauguration of the Holy Synod, was granted to Kiev and Petrograd, but not to Moscow. Platon had to wait four years further for this redress to be granted to his see.

Further trouble came when Platon protested against Katharine's appointment in 1786 of a bishop from among the white or secular clergy in the person of John Pamphilov. Platon resented this breach with the ancient tradition of appointing only monks to bishoprics ; and resented it all the more as Pamphilov was a pronounced opponent of monasticism and the existing hierarchy. Simultaneously his position in the Holy Synod and in Petrograd was becoming more difficult, and he was anxious to retire. This was not allowed ; but his activities began to be confined to his own immediate diocese.

The accession of his old pupil, Paul, to the throne, did not mend matters. Platon was more than ever confined to Moscow, and even Gabriel Petrov fell out of favour. Thus the last fifteen years of his life were devoted in large measure to his diocese and to his old centre of activity in the Academy, which was soon to be moved to the Troitski Monastery; while he was also busy with the new foundations that he had begun in 1783 two miles away from the lavra, namely the monastery of Bethany and the adjoining Seminary.

He was, however, continually consulted about some of the crucial questions of the day. As an instance may be given the problems that arose about the wish of many congregations of Old-believers to return into communion with the Church. Under his guidance the rules were drawn up which in 1800 gave official recognition to the compromise which had gradually developed, known as *edinovierie* (united belief). The effect of this com-

promise was to allow Old-believers and others who had so far abstained from the communion of the Church to be admitted to communion, and their congregations to be reconciled, while retaining the old rites and ceremonies. Platon was at once eager to facilitate these terms of union for the separated brethren and also to prevent *edinovierie* from becoming a Cave of Adullam for discontented Orthodox.¹ Before his death in 1812 he had discovered and pushed forward the man who was to be his successor.

Philaret Drozdov (1783-1867) was, like him, of Muscovite origin; his father served as deacon and priest at Kolomna. His education in the Academy revealed his ability: he stayed on there, when his student days were ended, as teacher of Greek and Hebrew; and there Platon singled him out as a promising man of ability and zeal. Under Platon's influence he became a monk in 1808; but, to the great grief of the old man, he was carried away from his patron in the following year in order to be tutor in the recently founded (1797) Petrograd Academy.

He found himself there in a difficult position. Alexander I had been Tsar since 1801, and in his government he relied upon two chief advisers. Speranski, his chief minister, was a man who had received an ecclesiastical education and was greatly interested in church affairs. The Procurator of the Holy Synod was Prince Golitsyn, who had come out of the dominant indifference to take an interest in religion through somewhat foreign and non-orthodox influences. His outlook was therefore pietistic; and if he had not found in the young Orthodox theologian a moderating force to act upon his new zeal, the antagonism which he awoke in the conservative ecclesiastics would probably have checked his policy earlier than it did. The prelates were divided under two leaders, Ambrose Podobiedov the metropolitan, and his rival Theophylact

¹ The later history of *Edinovierie* may be seen in Palmieri, *Chiesa Russa*, 454 and ff. It remains under the authority of the diocesan bishops.

Ruzanov, of Kazan, who was the abler man of the two, and the chief ecclesiastical force in the Holy Synod. Philaret, soon after his appearance in Petrograd, was attacked by Theophylact on account of a sermon which he had preached. The Tsar took Philaret's side : in the following year (1812) he was placed at the head of the Academy. Theophylact lost his predominance and finally disappeared to be Exarch of Georgia, leaving the field clear for Philaret, who was able to join Golitsyn in his schemes of reform without forfeiting the confidence of the metropolitan.

Since the beginning of the century plans had been set on foot for a development of church schools, and for a sounder handling of church finance, which should make the financial position of the Church better, and at the same time provide the funds for the new educational schemes. These plans were much interrupted by the Napoleonic wars ; and the drain upon the country retarded greatly the improvement in church finance. But the enthusiasm of the leaders was not overborne ; and in the new conditions which followed 1812 the projects still went on. The new revulsion of feeling against France acted in two directions. On the one side the conservatives were made by it more suspicious than before of foreign influence and of any disturbance of the Russian tradition ; while the liberals were turned to new spiritual influences, to the mysticism of western sects and to a biblical revival. The British and Foreign Bible Society penetrated into Russia through the influence of Lutheran pastors. Golitsyn encouraged the foundation of a Russian Bible Society (1813) and himself became its first President.¹

¹ An interesting account of Russia (1810-30) and of the work of the Bible Society is given in Dr. Pinkerton's *Russia* (London, 1833). He was foreign agent to the Society, spent much time in Russia, and was in touch with leading persons. He printed (pp. 39-54) a paper given him by Philaret in 1815, when Rector of the Academy, setting out in parallel columns with comments "The Differences in the Doctrines of Faith betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches." The following statement is of special interest in this connexion : "III. Everything necessary to salvation is stated in the Holy Scriptures with such clearness that every one reading it with a sincere desire to be enlightened can understand it."

Philaret threw himself in with these movements, busying himself with translation work in the interest of the Orthodox Church, and in the spread of the Scriptures, printed, not as heretofore in Slavonic, but in vernacular Russian translations.

The seven years 1817–1824 witnessed a new experiment. A Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education was established, and Golitsyn as Minister controlled both the spheres in which he had hitherto been energetically working. The change stirred the Metropolitan Ambrose to make a protest. It was ineffective; he was retired to Novgorod, and two months later he died. The like fate befel his successor, Michael Desnitski; for he also in 1821 protested to the Tsar, and survived the protest only a couple of weeks. But the cumulative effect of these two tragic protests told on the Tsar: and the tide began to turn in favour of the conservatives.

Philaret meanwhile had risen steadily higher step by step. In 1819 he became an archbishop and member of the Holy Synod, in 1821 he was made Archbishop of Moscow. Two years later he wrote his famous *Catechism* at the request of the Holy Synod; and in it all the sacred texts, biblical and liturgical, were given in Russian, not in Slavonic. A fresh and more effective protest was being organized under the new Metropolitan, Seraphim Glagolievski. The pietistic views were attacked from many points of view, and the Bible Society was denounced.

Before this storm Golitsyn fell (1824). The Ministry, which he had established and occupied, was abolished again, or rather was modified so as to concern itself only with the non-orthodox religious bodies, while the Orthodox Church reverted under the immediate government of the Holy Synod and the Procurator. Golitsyn ceased to be Minister, and had to resign the presidency of the Bible Society; the society itself was suppressed after Alexander's death (1826).

In the reconstruction of the Holy Synod that ensued

Philaret lost his place there : his Catechism was denounced and its publication was suspended, until, after he had justified its soundness, it was re-issued in 1827 with the sacred texts in Slavonic instead of Russian.¹

In the interval Alexander died (1825). The new Tsar, Nicholas, restored Philaret to his place in the Holy Synod and confirmed him in his see, not as archbishop, but as Metropolitan of Moscow. So peace reigned until Protasov became procurator in 1830. The new representative of the Emperor was a man of great administrative ability ; and his reforms of the Synod produced lasting improvement in the matter of efficiency. But his theological outlook was influenced by the Jesuit element in his education ; and his masterful nature attempted to override the Synod. Again Philaret's Catechism came in for attack : for Protasov disapproved of it, and favoured instead the Latinism of Mogila's famous manual. The Synod revised Philaret's work in 1839 and made changes in it ; but not in the direction desired by the procurator.² Protasov was also unsuccessful in his attempts to restrict the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in Russian, for Philaret successfully defeated them. But here his success ended : for in 1842 the procurator succeeded in getting Philaret excluded from authority and dismissed to his diocese.

Shortly before this Philaret took another precaution against the growing infiltration of Latin theology into the Russian Church. Two centuries had passed since the lapse of Cyril Lucar into Calvinism and the publication of the heterodox Confession attributed, rightly or wrongly, to him. Greek Orthodoxy had been compromised and needed to exonerate itself. The first attempt to repudiate Cyril's views made in a synod

¹ There are two Catechisms of Philaret, the Longer and the Shorter, included in Blackmore, *Doctrine of the Russian Church* (London, 1845). Palmieri, *Theol. Dogm. Orb.* i, 181, 644 and ff.

² For example, Protasov had complained because there was no explanation of the Ten Commandments : but the revised Catechism continued to have in place of this an exposition of the Beatitudes, being from the Orthodox point of view a more satisfactory compendium of Christian morals. *Znam.* 348.

held at Jassy in 1642 was not very effective; so the undertaking was renewed in a fresh Council held at Bethlehem and Jerusalem under the presidency of Dositheus, the Patriarch, in 1672. The Acts of the Council shew that in repelling Calvinism it fell into the mistake of borrowing its weapons from Romanism, for it employed both terms and phrases which were redolent of Western and Scholastic rather than of Orthodox theology.

These Acts had found their way to Russia shortly afterwards, and indeed had been sent officially from Constantinople in 1723 at the time of the dealings with the Nonjurors: but they had not obtained an official position or publication. Philaret made a version which was issued by a synod held at Petrograd in 1838. It is noticeable that in this Russian version some of the Latinisms had been expunged. Yet even thus amended, these Acts are not held by the Russian Church to be an official exposition of Orthodox doctrine.¹

The last period of Philaret's life is that of his long retirement extending from 1842 to his death in 1867. The prelate's sixty years and long labours entitled him to an honourable retirement; and though his dismissal was meant to be a disgrace, it proved to be the reverse. For a quarter of a century Philaret in his retirement exercised one of the chief influences in Russia, and one which extended to secular as well as to ecclesiastical affairs. He was sought out as a counsellor, and besides he maintained a considerable correspondence with the leaders in Church and State, while the range of his knowledge and his influence was enormous. Though the last ten years were passed in stricter monastic seclusion, he had his share in the great reforms of Alexander II, and is said to have drafted the famous manifesto of February 14,

¹ In particular, alterations were made designed to get rid of such terms as "indelible character" or "Transubstantiation," to encourage and not discourage the reading of the Bible, and to define otherwise the Canon of Holy Scripture. A Greek edition corresponding to the altered Russian version was also issued at Petrograd in 1840.

For the whole subject of Cyril and his legacy to the Church see Palmieri, *Theol. Dogm. Orib.* i, 464-506, and *Dositeo* (Florence, 1909).

1861, for the emancipation of the serfs. His zeal for the dissemination of the Bible remained to the end though he did not live to see the completion of the new schemes of translation, carried through by the Holy Synod in 1868, with his support, but in opposition to the wish of the Procurator Tolstoi.

To these two names a third must be added, belonging also to a distinguished occupant of the see of Moscow who carried on the great tradition. Makari (Bulgakov) is celebrated more as a writer than as an administrator. Like Philaret he was Rector of the Academy at Petrograd (1850-1857). After occupying various other sees he was Metropolitan of Moscow from 1879 to his death in 1882. His fame rests upon two great books, the twelve volumes of his *History of the Russian Church* and the five volumes of his *Orthodox Dogmatic Theology*. The latter was completed in 1853 and it forms the most authoritative body of Orthodox doctrine that exists. The former was never finished. The twelfth volume begins with the history of Nikon and carries it only down to 1667. But incomplete though it is, Makari's history is still unsurpassed, and continues to be the indispensable basis of modern work upon the subject.¹

The Russian theology of the nineteenth century was greatly enriched by the works of two great lay writers, A. S. Khomiakov (1804-1860) and V. S. Soloviev (1853-1900). They represent two opposite tendencies, and, in a sense, carry on the traditional rivalry between the Little Russian and the Great Russian schools of theological thought. Khomiakov is passionately slavophil. His view of the Church is coloured throughout by a dominantly Russian colouring, and he hotly defends that view, as being the only genuinely Orthodox one, against the legalism of the Latins and the individualism of Western Protestantism. In consequence his teaching has met with both warm approval and warm disapprobation in his own country. Soloviev on the other hand was favourably

¹ A French translation of the *Dogmatic Theology* was printed at Paris in 1859-60. The *History* has not been translated.

disposed towards Rome, and sought sincerely to lay down such a philosophical basis of Christian Doctrine as might make easier a reconciliation of East and West. The contribution of each of these great men was all the more valuable as it was made from outside the clerical circles of theological study, and by men who were distinguished for their ability in other directions as well as that of theology. Khomiakov was by birth a country gentleman, and Soloviev was the son of a famous Russian historian. The West may well envy a Church in which such contributions are possible, and it has much to learn from each of these lay theologians.¹

¹ Khomiakov is known to English churchmen by his correspondence with W. Palmer, edited by Birkbeck in *Russia and the English Church*, vol. 1 (1895). The main points of his theological outlook are summed up in his French volume, *L'Église Latine et l'Église d'Orient* (Lausanne, 1872). His complete works are published in Russian in eight volumes (Moscow, 1911). Soloviev's works, philosophical and theological, form ten volumes (Petr. 1911-14). Two French works of his are *L'Idée Russe* (Paris, 1888) and *La Russie et l'Église Universelle* (Paris, 1889 and 1906). The latter is famous and represents the author in his middle period when he was in a violent reaction against panslavism; but it is not the best expression of his ecclesiastical views. His philosophy has attracted more attention in the West than his theology.

A short account of each of these writers is given in Palmieri, *Theol. Dogm. Orth.*

CHAPTER XIV

MODERN EXPANSION

THE careers of Platon and Philaret have brought out into view the ebb and flow of Russian church life. The history of the nineteenth century, both ecclesiastical and civil, exhibits, not a steadily flowing stream of development, but a series of advances and retreats, alternations of reform and reaction, which are apt to be very puzzling to the foreign observer. The century opened with the coming of Alexander I to the throne. A reaction set in against the futile absolutism of Katharine's half-witted son Paul (1796-1801); for Alexander began with enlightened views, and in Speranski he had an able minister. The Napoleonic wars brought Russia to a new self-consciousness; and it began to think less of foreign models, and to work out its own salvation. The organs of government were transformed and made more effective. The new acquisitions of the Grand Duchy of Finland (1808) and the Kingdom of Poland (1815), were liberally treated; and fresh projects were planned for reform. But in the more settled days that followed 1815, reaction began to set in, the effect of which upon Philaret and the Church has already been noted. At Alexander's death an attempt was made by a group of officers to overthrow the absolutism which had disfigured the later years of his reign; but the "Decembrists" were overpowered and the movement crushed. In consequence the new Tsar, Nicholas, carried on the repressive tradition of his brother. He felt himself powerless between the two rival schools of political thought—the Slavophiles who wished Russia to continue to work on its own lines, and the Europeanizers who wished to see German ideals prevail. In his powerlessness his only hope seemed to lie in stern repression; and this policy bred revolutionaries.

In the midst of the misfortunes of the Crimean war he died (1855); and his son Alexander II inaugurated a new liberal movement. The national misfortunes forced the hand of autocracy, and the period of great reforms began. It lasted only ten years; but it was fruitful. The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 was the most noteworthy change; but the same impulses brought in also a diminution of coercion, a growth in personal liberty, a new judicial system and many other amendments. In 1866 Alexander became alarmed, and an attempt upon his life made him reverse his whole policy. His conflict thenceforward with the growing revolutionary forces was only ended by his murder in 1881.

This outrage only intensified the terror-stricken instinct of autocracy for self-preservation. Throughout the reign of Alexander III (1881-1894) repression developed. Russia was cowed so far as force could cow it; the non-Russian peoples were forcibly "russified," to the great indignation of the capable occupants of the Baltic provinces, and even more of the Finns, because in their case the action of the government involved a shameless disregard of the conditions agreed upon in 1808, when the Grand Duchy agreed to form part of the empire.

Fresh disasters were needed before the tide could turn. They came through the Japanese War of 1904-5. Again autocracy had its hand forced and Nicholas II made grudgingly some concessions, and some show at any rate of the establishment of constitutional government. For example, in February 1903 there began a new stage of liberty of conscience granted by an imperial *ukaz* and ratified in the new penal code of that year. Two and a half years later were issued the Acts establishing the Duma. What has happened since is a matter of contemporary history, and this rapid survey had better close with the year 1905.

It is only natural, in the case of a Church so national in character as that of Russia, that the same alterations which have been indicated in the political

sphere should be found also traceable in the ecclesiastical sphere. The Church has in fact been carried along in a similar course, though with less violent contrasts. It has risen, to some extent at any rate, to taking its share in the reforms. But, on the whole, it has probably found its task a more congenial one in the days of reaction. The cause of this lies partly in the conservative nature of the religious instinct in general, and especially of the Russian religious instinct: partly also in the nature of the ecclesiastical organization, which has tended to act as a bureaucracy centred round a despotic nucleus. It is this that accounts for the practical ostracism of great leaders like Platon and Philaret. It accounts also for the yet more serious paralysing of the proper powers of the Church, which prevailed in the worst period of repression between 1881 and 1905.

Those years formed the period during which Pobiedonostsiev was Procurator of the Holy Synod, and by his great ability and apostolic zeal succeeded in making himself almost the Autocrat of the Russian Church. His influence extended also to secular affairs; and indeed to him, in all probability, must be ascribed a preponderating share of responsibility for the policy of repression which prevailed throughout that era. His labours were unceasing for the benefit of the Church as he understood it. The improvement in the material condition of the parishes and parish priests which had been begun in the great days of the "60's" was continued under his care. Similarly under his guidance the development of religious education advanced. The diocesan schools for daughters of the clergy which had begun only in 1843 were encouraged and increased. The elementary schools in the parishes were rehabilitated. Down till the time of Katharine the only primary schools had been those in the parishes, taught or managed by the clergy and maintained by the Church. When a rival government system began to supplement the parochial schools it was unpopular; the efforts of Katharine suffered from the suspicion of the peasants

and failed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Alexander made a new effort to extend elementary education and enlisted the co-operation of the clergy. Thenceforward better progress was made. It was greatly restricted by the jealousy of the landowners over their serfs; but even so, more than 21,000 new parochial schools were opened between 1859 and the emancipation. In 1862 the attempt had been made to bring all the parochial schools into line with the new government schools; this had failed, but the government was jealous of the church schools. A new period of rivalry began in which the Church was being steadily worsted, and the isolated and inadequate parochial schools were being crushed out of existence.

In 1882 the government recognized afresh the value of a close connexion between the Church and primary education, and made fresh overtures to the clergy. At the instigation of Pobiedonostsiev the Holy Synod took up the question of popular education in 1885: parochial schools began to multiply again, and their numbers rose from 4,500 to 42,000 by the end of the century. The limited curriculum of the older days was enlarged and the methods were modernized. For the moment the destructive competition of the secular schools, which between 1861 and 1881 had exterminated some 17,000 church schools, was mastered, and the Church again became a great educating power.

But the chief characteristic of Pobiedonostsiev's rule, which mitigated the disaster of his general policy, was his zeal for evangelization. He did much to forward the dissemination of the New Testament in Russian, that the people might be imbued with Scripture; while every good effort in the mission field was sure of his enthusiastic support, and of his whole-hearted championship at the Holy Synod. In resuming, therefore, the brief historical sketch of Russian Missions, it must be borne in mind that behind the great reforms and advances of the last half of the nineteenth century lay the growing interest and influence of the Procurator.

The period of Katharine II had been a time of relapse so far as aggressive missionary work was concerned. This was the result not merely of lack of government support, but also of definite discouragements, hostile measures and paralysing interference. The prevailing passion for what was falsely called religious toleration led to the encouragement of Islam. In 1764 the Senate suppressed the large organization at Kazan that had done so much for new converts: introducing a system of government control which discouraged conversion. At the same time the missionaries themselves were hampered and their leaders discountenanced. Kazan meanwhile was turned into a centre of Moslem propaganda under the auspices of the government; and the Church had great difficulty in retaining the converts already made.

These hostilities and difficulties, however, produced at the beginning of the nineteenth century a better equipped missionary activity; and provoked a fresh outburst of enthusiasm. Simultaneously the sterilizing indifference and active hostility on the part of the authorities disappeared with the advent of Alexander I; and a fourth period of expansive evangelization was inaugurated.

The progress at first was slow. A real study of the native languages was now reckoned to be necessary, and a vernacular literature. But to supply these needs required time. Ambrose Protasov, Bishop of Kazan (1816-26), was zealous in the matter; his Seminary began to teach the native languages. The new-born zeal of the Bible Society before long provided the New Testament translated into ten different tongues. In consequence of these efforts the Moslem propaganda grew fiercer, and in spite of them there were from time to time great relapses of converts to Islam. It was found that even after all the efforts that had been made at building up converts by use of the Tartar language, success did not follow; and the causes of failure had to be discovered. The leader in this respect was Ilminski, a gifted enthusiast who devoted all his linguistic talents to the service of missions. He realized that so far the

translations into Tartar had followed a classical form of the language and not that spoken and understood by the people. Thereupon the vernacular Tartar was substituted, and Ilminski became an expert not only in this but in many other languages used by the tribes and races of the district. His deep knowledge and severely scientific standard of scholarship set up a new ideal; and from 1858 onward Ilminski's labours gave a new value to the mission work.¹

The expansive spirit of the "60's" brought a fresh accession of zeal, and the results began to be seen of the special missionary training which had been given in the Seminary at Kazan since 1854. Mission schools began to multiply, and the government encouraged native education. At the back of the movement were "Brotherhoods" or Societies formed for the development of missionary work. The Brotherhood of St. Guri at Kazan set the example; and then it was soon widely followed elsewhere. The great relapses ceased; but the work remained difficult and slow. Islam still remained firmly entrenched; and in 1884 it was calculated that there was a mosque for every 785 inhabitants and a Moslem school corresponding, whereas there was a church or a church school only for every 3,000.

This movement affected Siberia as well as the mission regions in European Russia. To the earlier impulse belongs the foundation of the great Altai mission in western Siberia among the Tartars, Kalmycks and other tribes untouched so far. It was begun by Evgeni Kazantsiev, the archbishop of Tobolsk, in 1828, and was placed under the charge of a great missionary, Makari Glukhariev. He began by mastering the local group of languages, which he reduced to grammar and dictionary.

¹ A full and fascinating account of Ilminski's work is given in Smirnov, cc. iv and v. The Kazan Translation Committee has published translations in at least twenty native languages. Its activity and method has now been reproduced in other centres such as Simbirsk and Archangel, where the needs of those districts in the matter of translations are met. As the work has advanced, not only have the Holy Scriptures become accessible, but, according to the usual rule and policy, the Liturgy and other services are celebrated in an ever-increasing number of native languages.

For statistics of the scope and growth of these and other missions see Smirnov. See also an article of Iakoviev in *The East and the West*, July 1913, p. 254.

The work of translation then followed. He baptized only those who were already carefully instructed; and he placed the converts apart from the heathen in villages of their own under the guardianship of their sponsors. Conversions, therefore, were genuine, and converts were upheld till they matured into a solidly Christian mode of life. Makari was content that they should at first be few.

Ill health forced him to give up the work and retire into the Bolchov monastery in 1844; and by that time the converts only amounted to less than 700. But Makari had good successors who followed on his sound lines; and their patience was in due course rewarded. The Liturgy was first celebrated in the native tongue in 1865, and converts then began to come in by tens and by hundreds. On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Makari the mission was able to claim that the workers had risen in the interval from eighteen to eighty-nine, the churches from three to fifty-five, the schools from two to forty-seven, and the converts from 675 to 20,770.¹

The Altai Mission has served as a model for many others in various parts of Siberia. The eastern part of the country was separated from the western by the establishment of the see of Irkutsk in 1727. Here the beginnings were not conspicuous. Except in Kamchatka, where work was begun in 1732, little had been accomplished before the nineteenth century. A fresh impulse was given by the Tsar in 1833 to the work in eastern Siberia when Nil Isakovich set the Irkutsk missions on a better footing. Kamchatka a little later found its apostle in a remarkable missionary called Innocent Veniaminov. He began as a married priest established in the Aleutian Islands on the extreme east of Siberia. Being left a widower, he became a monk and

¹ See the speech of Archbishop Makari of Tomsk in his collected Sermons and Addresses (Tomsk, 1910), p. 494. An account in English of the Altai Mission by A. N. Muraviev (1857) is given in Neale, *Voices from the East* (London, 1859), pp. 81-113. See also Smirnov, pp. 17-21.

was made first bishop of the new see of Kamchatka (1840). The area of his activities and of his see steadily grew. It crossed the Pacific and took in Alaska on the American continent, and everywhere the sound missionary principles already mentioned prevailed. After more than a quarter of a century spent in interminable missionary journeys and indefatigable organization Innocent was called from his outlandish labours, in 1868, to occupy for his last eleven years the metropolitanical throne of Moscow, leaving behind him four vast dioceses which he had organized.

His transference to Moscow is a magnificent proof of the essentially missionary character of the Russian Church. It is not a unique event either; for Makari, the recent holder of that great see, was also brought to it from devoted labours in Siberia, in the diocese of Tomsk and the above-mentioned Altai Mission. Archbishop Innocent at Moscow still remained a missionary; and to him is due the foundation there in 1870 of the Orthodox Missionary Society which, by voluntary effort, does much to supplement the official missionary work directed by the Holy Synod.

The above-mentioned missions are representative of an evangelistic expansion which is going on throughout the unchristianized areas of the vast Russian empire. Other branches of the work must here perforce be passed over in silence; but a word may be added now about the growth of missionary work beyond the limits of the empire, in America and Japan especially.¹

The Alaskan work was begun at the end of the eighteenth century and organized, as has been noted, by Veniaminov. It did not cease when Alaska and the Aleutian islands were included among the United States.² On the contrary the Russian diocese, besides dealing with the missionary work, has become the centre

¹ There are also missions outside Russia in China and Korea. The former, as has been shown, is long established; but its two centuries of existence have as yet produced little result. The mission to Korea is of recent origin: Smirnov, pp. 75, 76.

² From 1799 to 1867 Alaska was under the control of the Russian American Company. It was purchased for seven million dollars by the United States: Edwards, p. 60.

in the eastern States for the supervision of the vast number of Orthodox immigrants into America.

The work in Japan grew up round another great missionary hero, Nicholas Kosatkin, who went out as a young monk in 1860 to be chaplain to the Russian consulate in Hakodate. Single-handed he began his task, and his chief helpers and successors have been not Russians but Japanese converts. His aim from the first was the establishment of a Japanese Orthodox Church. To that end the foundations were laid on the vernacular language and on the training of Japanese teachers and clergy. The first Orthodox Japanese priests were ordained in 1875. Nicholas himself became bishop in 1880, setting up his see in Tokio, and building up round it the necessary schools and institutions, including an Ecclesiastical Seminary. At the death of Nicholas (1912) the result of his labours was seen in an independent Orthodox Church of Japan numbering more than 35,000 adherents, which had already shown itself full of zeal and promise for the future, and able to bear the strain of the Russo-Japanese War.

That strain told more disturbingly on the Mother Church than on the daughter: for the disasters of 1904-5 awoke a new spirit at the centre. Some brief account of the questions then raised will serve to bring this exploration of the History of the Russian Church to a close, before it treads too closely on the heels of contemporary events and problems.

Early in 1905 a company of young priests in Petrograd approached the Metropolitan asking for his guidance in the difficulties arising out of the social upheaval that was then in progress. He advised them to consult together as to the best methods of reassuring the faithful in their loyalty to the Church. The result of their consultations was a memorandum published in the name of thirty-two priests in the *Tserkovny Vestnik*, the organ of the Academy, on March 10. The memorandum called for fundamental reform, for

liberty and self-government in the Church, and for the summoning of a National Council in order to bring about the changes needed.

It met both with warm approval and sharp disapproval. Pobiedonostsiev the Procurator, as might have been expected, took the latter view. But the laity, headed by Count Witte, the Minister of Finance, supported the clergy. He put out with the approval of the metropolitan a memorandum of his own *On the existing Condition of the Orthodox Church*. A conflict thereupon was waged both in the Council of Ministers and in the Holy Synod concerning the convocation of a National Council. The Holy Synod, in spite of the Procurator, petitioned the Tsar in favour of this proposal, while Pobiedonostsiev and Witte continued a literary duel on the subject. The Tsar at first refused (March 31); and the Procurator tried to induce the Holy Synod to be content to defer the matter. But when the Tsar was forced to grant the beginnings of constitutional government to the State on October 17, the Church benefited for the moment by the change. Pobiedonostsiev's rule ended and Obolienski became Procurator in his place (October 20). In December the metropolitans of Petrograd, Moscow and Kiev were granted an unusual privilege, *viz.*, direct access to the Tsar, not through the Procurator as intermediary: and forthwith they won from him a rescript authorizing the summons of a National Council for the reform of the Church.

Thereupon opinions were elicited from many of the bishops; and, further, a Commission of bishops, clergy and laymen was appointed to prepare the way for the Council. In March 1906 it began its work. Seven branches of its subject of enquiry were distributed to seven committees. The first was concerned with the technicalities concerning the Council itself; but the rest had the task of preparing schemes of actual reform about (2) the administrative areas of the Church, (3) Canon law and church courts, (4) Parochial

organization, and finance, (5) Education, (6) Orthodox doctrine, and (7) Controversy with non-orthodox bodies.

A report on the constitution of the Council itself was published in April. After a very frank discussion, it was unanimously agreed that both clergy and laity should have a place there; but opinions were sharply divided as to what place. Seven members were in favour of their being constituent members of the Council, against twelve who desired them only to be assessors, or consultants.

On the subject of the restoration of the Patriarchate a long discussion in the press preceded the Commission's deliberations. Eventually its voting was decisively in favour of such a restoration.¹

To many of the critics the most needed reforms seemed to be those which would reinvigorate parochial life. The bishops in their memoranda showed themselves to be under no illusions on this subject, for only one was bold enough to say that no reform was needed. Many, various and radical, were the suggestions which the others made on the subject.

Similarly the question of educational reform was handled in a very bold spirit, not only in the press and in the reports of the bishops, but also by the Preparatory Commission. The seminaries and academies were very sharply criticized, and radical reforms were demanded. The chief differences of opinion revealed themselves upon such points as these—whether the seminaries should continue to be institutions for the education of the sons of the clergy, or should be given up to the training exclusively of any and all who wished to enter the ministry: whether the training of the future clergy should or should not be carried on isolated from the ordinary education of their contemporaries.²

¹ A further stage on this road was reached in 1916; for in the summer statutes were issued for a reform of central church government by restoring the patriarchate either at Petrograd or Moscow, by reorganizing the Holy Synod partly on an electoral basis, and by restricting the powers of the Procurator.

² As a result of these discussions some changes were made in the seminaries by the Holy Synod; but they only concerned the curriculum: Palmieri, *Chiesa R.* 573.

Criticism was no less free concerning the bishops, the monasteries and episcopal government in general. These subjects were naturally closely allied, since the monastic habits and outlook of the bishops was one of the points constantly emphasized as contributing to the existing defects. Singularly enough the monasteries in themselves seem to have had less than their share of criticism. The Preparatory Commission abstained from any vote as to the establishment of a provincial system, leaving such matters to the decision of the National Council. But it pronounced in favour of the appointment of bishops by election in a synod consisting of bishops with representatives of the clergy and laity, subject to imperial confirmation. It recommended the multiplication of dioceses, the abolition of the translation of bishops, and the reform of the consistories and other diocesan organizations; also the placing of fuller disciplinary and administrative powers in the hands of the bishops themselves independently of the Holy Synod.¹

Such were some of the reforms contemplated in 1905 and 1906. It is difficult to know whether to admire most the spirit of frank self-criticism that was displayed, or the boldness of the proposals of reform.

The Church caught sight for a moment, through a rift in the enveloping mist, of a new ideal. It was perhaps partly vision and partly mirage. But very soon the rift closed up, and gathering clouds again effaced the outlook. In April 1907 the Tsar issued his direction for the future Council. It defined the composition of the future Council—the episcopal members who were to take part, the representatives of the clergy and laity who were to act as assessors, and their method of election. In regard to the last point the prospect was not en-

¹ An account of these proceedings may be read fully set out, and drawn up from the authentic documents, in Palmieri, *Chiesa Russa*. The book further contains a valuable summary of the state of the Russian Church at that date, with many statistics, and in some places also good historical summaries leading up to the matters handled. This account, written by a Roman Catholic, is critical but in many ways sympathetic.

A similar book, though much slighter, is Wilbois, *L'Avenir de l'Église Russe* (E. T. *Russia and Reunion*, London, 1908).

couraging, for the ultimate choice was left to the bishop from a list drawn up as the result of a series of indirect elections.

The gravest feature of the document was, however, its silence as to any date. Countless other details were decided, but this remained undefined. It was clear that the whole project was quietly set aside. The vision was yet for many days.

Much has happened since then; and a new rift in the clouds has opened up a fresh vision of a Free Church in a Free Russia. This time may the vision be an immediate forerunner of the realization!¹

¹ The number of Orthodox in Russia may be put at 88 millions, besides at most 2 millions of Old-Believers, of whom two-thirds are Popovtsy, subject to "Austrian" bishops of their own. With these figures may be compared 13 millions of Mohammedans, 11 of Roman Catholics, 3 of Lutherans, 5 of Jews.

The development of dioceses since Peter's day is traced by Dobrokl. iv, 98 and ff. At the beginning of the twentieth century they were 66 in number, including the missions of Japan and Aleutia. The policy of having suffragan bishops had been largely adopted, so that there were 45 or so then in office. Out of a total number of about 130 Russian bishops in 1906, sixteen were 40 years of age and under, thirty-two were between 41 and 50, twenty-eight between 51 and 60; that is to say, more than one-third were under 50 years old.

The number of parishes in 1905 was 37,465, or nearly 38,000 including those of the *edinovierie*. They were served by some 45,000 priests and 15,000 deacons.

The parochial clergy are supported mainly from local sources—gifts, fees, glebe, etc.; but some have grants from the State. The greater part of the 18 millions of roubles (£1,800,000) allotted to the Church by the State out of its own confiscated revenues, goes to the bishops, the higher clergy, the monasteries and the church functionaries. The Holy Synod has an income of about 7 millions (£700,000) derived from contributions, printing, schools, etc. The grants to the parochial clergy from the State have increased latterly: in 1900 nearly 25,000 received some stipend. Grants are also made to Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism and Islam.

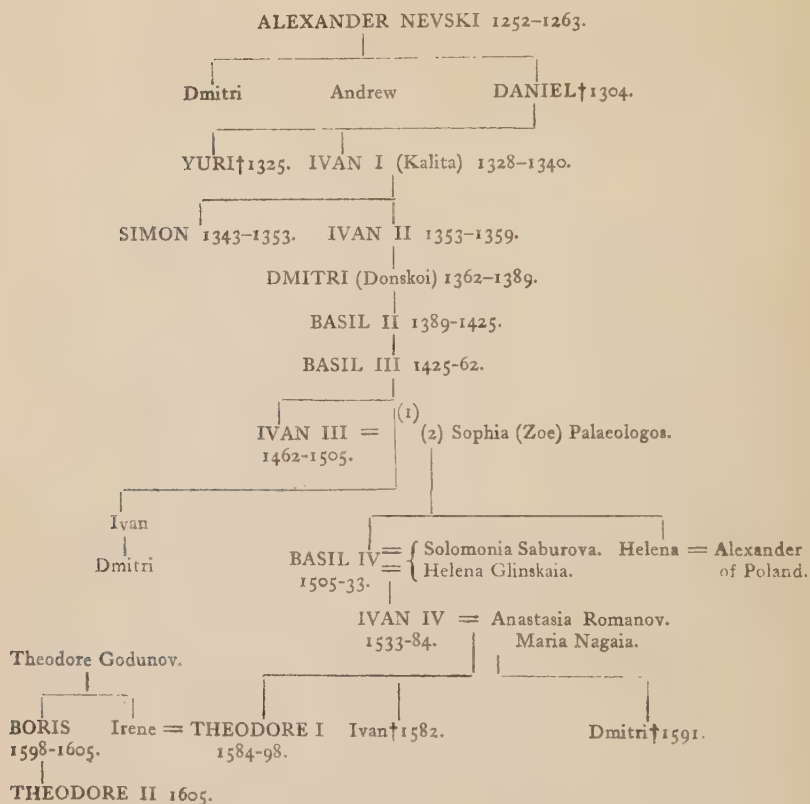
The educational statistics are also of interest. There were in 1906 fifty-eight seminaries with nearly 20,000 students; fed by 138 ecclesiastical schools with nearly 30,000 boys. Correspondingly, forty-nine diocesan girls' schools with 13,000 students; fed by 13 girls' schools with 2,000 girls. The four academies contain some 900 students, selected from the seminaries as deserving a further course of higher instruction.

The monasteries were greatly reduced throughout the eighteenth century, starting with the repressive measures and restrictions introduced by Peter I. They sunk from 953 to 452 in 1810. But at that point the tide turned. The nineteenth century witnessed many new foundations, so that at the end there were 500 monasteries of men and 300 of women, with 15,000 monks and 38,000 nuns. They have also again received much property and endowment since the secularization.

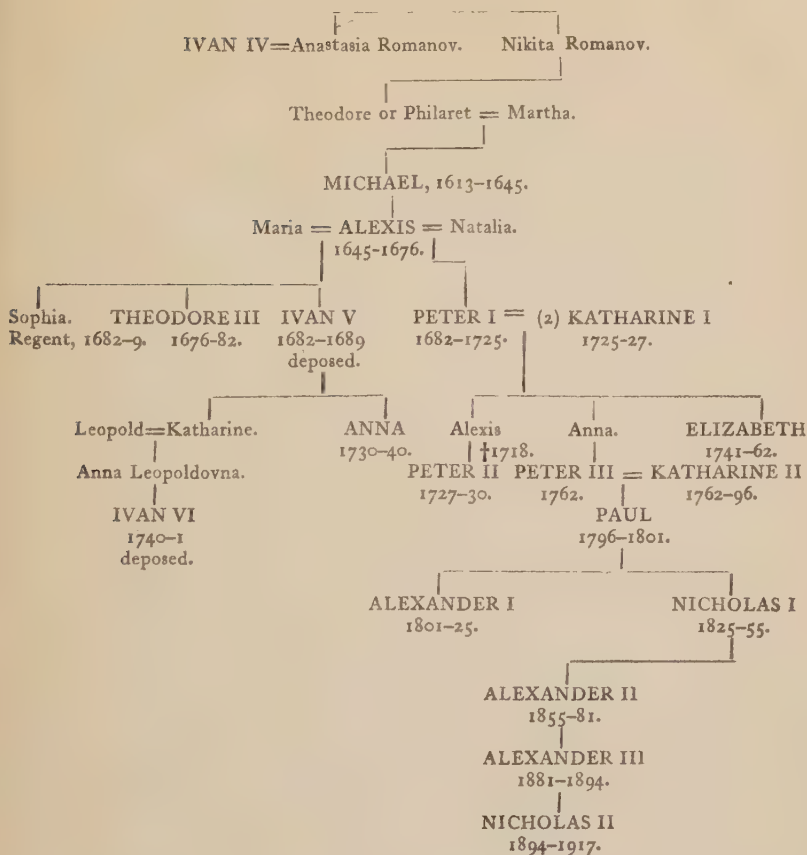
These figures are taken from Palmieri, *Cbiesa R.*, from Dobrokl. and from Andreievski, *Encycl. Slovar.*

In the decade following much further increase took place. The number of priests, for example, rose to nearly 50,000, of monks to nearly 20,000, and of nuns to nearly 63,000, of bishops to nearly 150. See the *Year Book* of the Russian Church in North America (1914).

THE END OF THE DYNASTY OF RURIK



THE ROMANOV DYNASTY



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